

TAPE A1

IT⁺ Copy⁺

(MEETING AT MAINZ, W. GERMANY, 29-30 OCT. 1986)

((QUALITY OF THE RECORDING IS VERY BAD))

((AFTER SOME PRELIMINARY CHATTER ABOUT TRAVEL SCHEDULES, ETC.))

NORTH: BEFORE YOU START TO TALK, I JUST NEED ONE PIECE OF INFORMATION THAT IS VERY IMPORTANT. GIVEN THE UNREST THAT IS... IS THERE ANY DANGER FOR YOUR PLANE WHEN IT GETS INTO BANDAR ABBAS RIGHT NOW.

CAVE AND HAKIM: ((INTERPRET)) (ASKS IF THERE IS ANY DANGER TO THE PLANE, GIVEN THE CURRENT INTERNAL UNREST IN IRAN.)

SAMII:

HAKIM: NO, IT'S NOT IN DANGER. ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)) HAVE RESOLVED. IT'S UNDER CONTROL. HE WAS TELLING US ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)) BUD'S TRIP ((FEW WORDS)) GHORBANIFAR, THROUGH HIS... FOUND OUT, HE FOUND OUT ((FEW WORDS)) ?15? YEAR OLD FRIEND OF GHORBANIFAR ((FEW WORDS)) APPRISED OF EVERYTHING FROM DAY ONE, AND WHO ((PORTION MISSED)) THE TRIP OF BUD, THAT EXPOSED, THERE WERE PUBLICATIONS FROM THOSE GROUPS ?IN THE? COUNTRY, FROM STUDENTS AND THINGS THAT SUCH ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) TRIP OF MCFARLANE TO IRAN. BUT HE SAID THAT THEY HAVE BROUGHT IT UNDER CONTROL. I DON'T KNOW HOW.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING)) HE SAYS THAT HE DOESN'T EVEN KNOW IF ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)) MCFARLANE'S MISSION, NOT THE NAME OF A PERSON, HE THOUGHT THAT IT WAS THE NAME OF ?ITS MISSION? HE SAID WHAT IS THIS. ((SAMII LAUGHS)).

CAVE: NOW HE'S A FAMOUS PERSON. ((LAUGHTER))

NORTH: ((LAUGHING)) NOBODY KNEW WHO HE WAS BEFORE, BUT NOW EVERYONE KNOWS. WHEN WOULD YOU LIKE HIM TO COME BACK, TOMORROW? ((LAUGHTER))

SAMII:

CAVE: HE SAYS THAT WE HAVE AN AWFUL LOT OF WORK TO DO ((FEW WORDS))

HAKIM: HE WANTS SAM AND RICHARD TO STAY.

SECOND: TELL HIM THAT WE JUST RECEIVED A CODED MESSAGE FROM THE AIRPLANE. THEY ARE ALL ((CLEAR)).

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

((HAKIM MAKES A PHONE CALL TO LONDON ASKING ABOUT DARVISH'S WHEREABOUTS. SEE PHONE TAPE TRANSCRIPT.))

((TIME OUT FOR EATING. DISHES RATTLING. UNINTELLIGIBLE CHATTER IN BACKGROUND.))

((NORTH MAKES A TELEPHONE CALL. WHILE OTHERS CHAT IN BACKGROUND.))

b(1), b(3), b(6)

Approved for Release

MAY 2000

((CONVERSATION AT THIS POINT IS TAKING PLACE AT SOME DISTANCE. ONLY ISOLATED, DISJOINTED PHRASES CAN BE HEARD. THOSE EXCHANGES WHICH CAN BE HEARD IN ANY SORT OF COMPLETENESS ARE AS FOLLOWS:))

HAKIM: ((IN PERSIAN)) THEIR CONTACT IS WITH ZAKI YAMANI AND ?THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE? AND THE SON OF ?THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE? THOSE TWO PEOPLE.

SECORD: ONCE WE GET PAST STEP FOUR, THEN HE AND I WILL TALK ABOUT THIS. THEN ((WORD UNCLEAR)) PLAN A GOOD, FIRM CASE ((TRAILS OFF)) IN PRINCIPLE. CAN YOU TELL HIM THAT?

SAMII:

CAVE: WHAT HE'S SAYING IS THAT ?ZAKI? TOLD HIM THAT IN ORDER TO ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)) ?SADDAM HUSAIN?, WE HAVE CUT OFF THE PIPELINE TO IRAQ.

NORTH: ((UNCLEAR.)) THAT'S US DOING THAT ((ONE WORD)) THE SAUDIS.

SECORD: BUT MY POINT IS THAT BEFORE WE CAN GET TOO FAR ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)), WE'VE GOT TO HAVE OUR PEOPLE BACK.

NORTH: WE'VE GOT A WHOLE BUNCH OF THINGS WE HAVE TO DO BEFORE WE GET TO GET TO THAT POINT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) ((SENTENCE UNCLEAR.)) THE MATTER OF TALKING WITH ((PORTION UNINTELLIGIBLE)) TALKS WITH THE SAUDIS. ((PORTION UNINTELLIGIBLE))

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WANTS TO KNOW WHAT YOU DID.

NORTH: WE'VE DONE THREE THINGS. SINCE WE STARTED TALKING, AND BEFORE, ACTUALLY THIS A DIRECT RESULT OF THE DISCUSSIONS THAT WE HAVE HAD IN THIS ((WORD UNCLEAR.))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS. AND ADDS MOSTLY UNINTELLIGIBLE PORTION ABOUT

NORTH: MY PROBLEM IS THAT MY BOSS, THE PRESIDENT WHO WROTE IN THAT BIBLE FOR YOU, AND POINDEXTER WHO IS MY BOSS, ARE LOSING PATIENCE. AND I AM UNDER GREAT PRESSURE, AS ARE THESE GENTLEMEN, TO SHOW THAT THIS CONNECTION THAT WE HAVE MADE IS GOING SOMEWHERE.

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HAKIM: ((BEFORE INTERPRETING, SAYS)) I WILL TRANSLATE EXACTLY WHAT YOU SAID. BUT YOU SHOULD BE AWARE, AS A RESULT OF THEIR WORK WITH US AND, YOU ALSO KNOW, THE ONLY WEAPON THAT THE IRANIANS HAVE IN THIS ((WORD UNCLEAR)) PEOPLE IN LEBANON IS THE IMAM KHOMEINI. IT'S THE ONLY THING THAT THEY LISTEN TO. SO THE IMAM KHOMEINI, AS A RESULT OF THE EFFORT OF THIS ((WORD UNCLEAR)) HAS PASSED A DECREE CLASSIFYING THE HOSTAGES AS PRISONERS; THEY ARE NOT ANY MORE SPIES OR THE BIG SATAN, NONE OF THIS. THEY ARE PRISONERS. HE WAS WAITING TO BRING A COPY OF THAT DECREE WITH HIM AS A RESULT OF THIS. THE TOTAL ATMOSPHERE IN CONNECTION WITH THE HOSTAGES WILL CHANGE IN LEBANON. THEY ARE GOING TO GO WITH THIS WEAPON INSIDE AND TRY TO SORT THINGS OUT ?IN ACCORD? WITH WHAT THEY ALSO COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO US. SO I WILL GO AHEAD AND TRANSLATE THIS.

((END OF SIDE A, TAPE A1.))
((SIDE B, BLANK))

((TAPE A2))

((SAMII'S VOICE IS SO FAINT IN THIS TAPE THAT IT IS COMPLETELY UNINTELLIGIBLE.))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS NORTH'S PREVIOUS STATEMENT))

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WANTS TO START THE OFFICIAL MEETING. HE THANKS ALL OF YOU FOR YOUR EFFORTS.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) THERE ARE FOUR ISSUES THAT HE IS ESTABLISHING AS THE POINTS FOR DISCUSSION. IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO AD LIB, PLEASE FEEL FREE TO DO SO.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE IS REQUESTING THAT ALL ISSUES THAT ARE BEING DISCUSSED HERE IN HIS PRESENCE NOT BE DISCUSSED IN ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ?INFORMAL? MEETING ?IN THE U.S.?

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WANTS TO MAKE THE OBSERVATION THAT THE REASON WE HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL SO FAR HAS BEEN, AT LEAST AT THE LEVEL OF THIS GROUP, WE HAVE BEEN TRUTHFUL WITH EACH OTHER AND WE HAVEN'T LIED.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) WITH THE INCOMPLETE, BROKEN SYSTEM OF COLLECTING INFORMATION THAT THEY HAVE, THEY HAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT IN YOUR GOVERNMENT ?WE? HAVE PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES IN ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH IRAN. IF SO, HE WOULD LIKE TO FROM THE VERY ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)) AS TO WHAT THEY ARE, AND WHY, AND THEN HE IN TURN WILL DO THE SAME THING AND EXPLAIN WHAT ARE THE DIFFICULTIES THAT IRAN ((TRAILS OFF)).

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BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WANTS TO EVALUATE THE REASONS AS TO WHY THINGS DON'T HAPPEN FAST ENOUGH.

CAVE: ON BOTH SIDES. HE WANTS OUR VIEW ...

NORTH: ... WHY THINGS MOVE SO SLOWLY.

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE HAS HEARD FROM ME THAT WE ARE COMPLAINING THAT THEY ARE NOT MOVING FAST.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) THAT'S TRUE.

NORTH: THAT'S BECAUSE SOMEONE TAKES A LARGE HUNK OUT OF MY ASS EVERY DAY.

HAKIM: HE WANTS THE TRUTH FROM US. I REALLY THINK...

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) FORTUNATELY, I WAS IN THE HOSPITAL.

HAKIM: I REALLY THINK THAT WHAT ALI IS AFTER IS TO GET HERE TODAY, WHEN I WAS CHEWING HIS ASS I WAS REALLY DOING IT.... BECAUSE HE SAID IT THREE TIMES THAT HE HEARD IT FROM ME. SO PLEASE EXPLAIN TO HIM THAT WHEN I WAS CHEWING HIM OUT...

NORTH: I WILL BE GLAD TO EXPLAIN AS TO WHY HE KEPT CALLING YOU TO GET THINGS MOVING. AND THAT IS BECAUSE MY BOSS WAS CALLING ME TO GET THINGS MOVING. AND THERE IS GREAT, GREAT PRESSURE... AND I WANT TO TELL YOU RIGHT NOW THAT IF WE DO NOT HAVE MOVEMENT VERY QUICKLY ON THE STEPS THAT WE PROMISED, I WILL BE LOOKING FOR WORK AND WE WILL END UP STARTING ALL OVER AGAIN IN SOME OTHER WAY, AND THAT WOULD BE A DISASTER FOR ALL OF US.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: BECAUSE AFTER OUR MEETINGS, WHEN YOU WERE IN WASHINGTON, AND THEN WE HAD THAT SECOND MEETING IN FRANKFURT WITH SAMII, I WENT BACK AND I TOLD THE PRESIDENT AND MCFARLANE AND POINDEXTER, "IT'S GOING TO MOVE. WE ARE GOING TO GET BEYOND THE OBSTACLE AND VERY QUICKLY. WE'RE GOING TO HELP TO BRING ABOUT AN HONORABLE END TO THIS WAR; WE'RE GOING TO DO THINGS THAT WILL TAKE CARE OF PEACE IN THAT PART OF THE REGION; WE'RE GOING TO HAVE A STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAN; AND THEN NOTHING HAPPENED.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: EVERY DAY MY BOSS WOULD CALL ME IN AND SAY, WHAT NOW?

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH:

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CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: EXCEPT ANOTHER AMERICAN GETS SEIZED IN BEIRUT. THEN WE MOVE 500 TONS TO BANDAR ABBAS, WHICH I AUTHORIZED YESTERDAY.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: NOW IF NOTHING HAPPENS, YOU'LL SEE MY BODY FLOATING IN THAT WATER OUT THERE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND SO EVERY DAY I WOULD BE CALLING HIM ((HAKIM)), AND HIM ((CAVE)) AND ASKING, "WHAT THE HELL'S GOING ON?"

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

HAKIM: NOT ONCE A DAY, A HUNDRED TIMES.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAID THE SAME THING HAPPENED ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) HE GOT AWOKEN IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT ((PORTION UNCLEAR))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: HE SAID THEY PUT A WIRELESS RADIO IN HIS HOUSE SO THAT THEY COULD BE IN CONTACT ALL THE TIME... ((FEW WORDS)) ALWAYS CALLING UP AND SAYING, "WHAT HAPPENED, WHERE'S THE STUFF?"

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) THE THIRD POINT IS THAT HE WANTS TO CLARIFY HIS POSITION IN THIS WHOLE THING AND EXPLAIN TO YOU WHAT HIS ROLE IS AND THE ROLE THAT HE HAS BEEN ASKED TO PLAY, AND HE WANTS TO EXPLAIN WHETHER HE IS THE HEAD OF THE TEAM, THE DEPUTY, OR WHAT.

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)) HE WANTS TO ((FEW WORDS)) HIS OWN ANALYSIS, AND HE WANTS TO HEAR OUR ANALYSIS. OF COURSE, HE IS OF THE OPINION THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE CONTROL OF THE SECURITY, ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WOULD LIKE TO START ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR))

NORTH: WELL, LET ME JUST MAKE SURE THAT I HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE FIRST POINT. AND THAT IS, YOUR CONCERN IS THAT THERE ARE PEOPLE WITHIN OUR GOVERNMENT WHO DO NOT WISH TO HAVE A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAN. IS THAT RIGHT?

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WANTS YOU TO BRIEFLY EXPLAIN TO HIM WHO ARE THE PEOPLE SUPPORTING THIS PROGRAM, THIS PROJECT, WHO ARE THE PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT SUPPORTING THIS PROGRAM, AND WHAT'S THEIR POSITION, AND WHO

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IS STRONGER?

NORTH: ((LAUGHS)) WE WOULDN'T BE HERE IF OUR GROUP WASN'T STRONGER. BUT I UNDERSTAND THE CONTEXT.

CAVE: AND HE WANTS TO DO THE SAME FOR US.

NORTH: IN OUR GOVERNMENT, BECAUSE WE HAVE OPPOSITION, BOTH INSIDE THE ADMINISTRATION--THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH--BUT THERE WOULD BE MUCH, MUCH MORE IF CERTAIN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS...WELL, LET ME START OVER. THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIONS OF ANYBODY WHO WOULD OPPOSE THIS ARE BASED ONLY ON THE HOSTAGES. THE OBJECTIONS ARE BASED ONLY ON THE FACT THAT PEOPLE IN OUR GOVERNMENT BELIEVE THAT IRAN HAS A ROLE IN THE HOSTAGES.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: IF THAT OBSTACLE WERE OUT OF THE WAY, THERE WOULDN'T BE ANY OBJECTION.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: SO THOSE PEOPLE WHO OBJECT--AND I CAN TELL YOU WHO THEY ARE, AND WE CAN TALK ABOUT IT--OBJECT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF THE HOSTAGES. THEY DO NOT OBJECT TO THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP THAT WE HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THERE IS AN ACCEPTANCE. I SAID THE STATEMENT, WE ACCEPT THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION OF IRAN AS A FACT. WE ACCEPT IT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

CAVE: ((SAYS IN PERSIAN THAT THERE ARE SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT PEOPLE WHO FEEL THAT IRAN SUPPORTS TERRORISM.))

CAVE AND HAKIM EXPLAIN THAT WHEN OTHER COUNTRIES TALK WITH THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT ABOUT TERRORISM, THEY PUT THE BLAME ON IRAN. CAVE CITES AN EXAMPLE FROM THAT DAY'S PRESS.

((SEVERAL PEOPLE TALKING AT ONCE.))

BAHRAIMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT A LOT OF THEIR PROBLEM IS THAT BECAUSE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF PROPAGANDA, ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)) IS VERY WEAK. FOR INSTANCE, ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)) THIS WAS DONE, NOT ONLY WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE, BUT WITHOUT THE SPECIFIC PERMISSION OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND 200 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN ARRESTED BECAUSE OF THIS.

NORTH: BUT SEP, THE BASIC PROBLEM OF ALL OF THIS IS THE PERCEPTION THAT EXISTS, NOT JUST IN THE U.S., BUT ELSEWHERE, THAT THERE IS A LOT OF TERRORISM THAT ORIGINATES WITHIN IRAN. WITHIN THE PASDARAN AND OTHER FACTIONS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: ALL OF THAT HAS CREATED A GREAT DEAL OF MISTRUST THAT HAS GONE ON FOR SEVEN YEARS.

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[REDACTED]

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAHANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE HAS HEARD ONLY TWO NAMES FROM YOU SO FAR. HE WANTS TO GET TO KNOW WHO IS SUPPORTING THIS ACTIVITY AND WHO IS NOT. SO FAR HE HAS HEARD ONLY TWO NAMES FROM YOU--POINDEXTER AND THE PRESIDENT--AND THEIR EVALUATION OF IRAN ((REMAINDER MISSED)) SO HE WANTS TO KNOW WHO....

SECCRD: THAT'S A MISPERCEPTION.

NORTH: THE FACT IS, POINDEXTER HAS AUTHORITY TO DO MANY THINGS. IF HE WAS WEAK, HE WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO DO THESE THINGS. HE WOULD NOT HAVE THE POWER TO DO THEM. HE IS CRITICIZED A GREAT DEAL BY THE PRESS AND THE MEDIA AND BY CRITICS, EVEN WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION. BUT HE IS A VERY POWERFUL MAN OR HE WOULDN'T BE HERE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAHANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) WHO ARE THE OTHER EXCEPT POINDEXTER?

NORTH: THE PRESIDENT, THE VICE PRESIDENT, THE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR, CASEY.

HAKIM: NO BUT, THE LAST TIME WE SAID A DIFFERENT STORY.

NORTH: NO THE PROBLEM IS, YOU WOULD PROBABLY PUT, IF YOU HAD TO DRAW UP A LIST, YOU'D PUT FOR/AGAINST, OKAY? BUT THAT'S TOO SIMPLE. IT'S TOO BLACK AND WHITE. ON THE FOR SIDE YOU WOULD HAVE REAGAN, REGAN, POINDEXTER, CASEY, AND OVER HERE YOU WOULD PUT SHULTZ AND WEINBERGER. AND AFTER THAT, NOBODY ELSE COUNTS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: BUT RIGHT NOW, NOBODY IN OUR CONGRESS EVEN KNOWS ABOUT IT. AND WE'RE NOT GOING TO TELL THEM UNTIL WE GET THE HOSTAGES OUT.

HAKIM: I MUST EXPLAIN TO HIM THAT IT IS WITHIN THE POWER OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO DO WHAT HE IS....

NORTH: THE PRESIDENT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

HAKIM: GENTLEMEN. AT THIS POINT, I REALLY TAKE THIS THING VERY, VERY PERSONALLY. PLEASE TELL THIS GENTLEMAN WHAT YOUR POSITION IS, AND I WANT ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR.))

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) AT THIS TIME NONE OF THE MEMBERS OF OUR CONGRESS ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR.))

HAKIM: AND THEN PLEASE WRITE THIS QUESTION OUT. HE IS ALWAYS ?TAKE THE FACT? THAT I AM AN EX-IRANIAN, HE ALWAYS ?INSINUATES? THAT I MAY BE FOOLING AROUND WITH THE TRANSLATION. SO PLEASE, MAKE THAT CLEAR. THAT HAS BEEN A HANDICAP FOR ME THROUGHOUT THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN ASSURES THE PERSIANS AS TO THE ACCURACY OF HAKIM'S

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INTERPRETING.))

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NORTH: THE IMPORTANT THING TO UNDERSTAND IS THAT SHULTZ AND WEINBERGER WOULDN'T BE OPPOSED EITHER. IN OTHER WORDS, THEY WOULD MOVE FROM THIS COLUMN OVER TO HERE. THEIR OBJECTION IS BASED ON THE PERCEPTION THAT IRAN IS STILL CONDUCTING TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AND SUPPORTING TERRORISM BY ITS BACKING FOR HIZBALLAH AND THE DAWA.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THIS IS WHY I ASKED YOU EARLIER, WHEN WE GET THE HOSTAGES OUT, DO YOU WANT OUR PRESIDENT OR SOMEBODY ELSE, LIKE SHULTZ, TO SAY NICE THINGS ABOUT IRAN?

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT THEY HAVE INFORMATION BACK HOME THAT SHULTZ AND WEINBERGER ARE TAKING STEPS IN DIFFERENT CHANNELS, INDEPENDENTLY, TO ESTABLISH A RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAN.

NORTH: WELL, IT IS TRUE. I AM AWARE OF THEM. WE ARE ALL AWARE OF THEM. ONE OF THE PROBLEMS THAT WE'VE GOT IS THE CREDIBILITY OF THIS CHANNEL. THAT'S A REAL SERIOUS PROBLEM.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((HAKIM HELPS OUT))

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) AND YOU MUST HAVE THE SAME PROBLEM IN IRAN.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WANTS TO KNOW IF SHULTZ ((PORTION UNCLEAR)) OR NOT?

NORTH: OH, YEAH. VERY MUCH. I WILL TELL YOU RIGHT NOW, IF YOU RECALL THE PLAN THAT WE PUT INTO MOTION AFTER OUR LAST MEETING, IF THAT DOES NOT PROCEED AS WE ALL AGREED, THEN I AM FINISHED. AND SHULTZ WILL FIND SOME OTHER WAY. AND HE HAS HIS PEOPLE IN TOUCH WITH IRANIANS AND HE WILL PROCEED IN THAT DIRECTION. AND THERE WILL BE NO MORE ASSISTANCE.

STATE

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECCRD: I DO NOT SEE EITHER SHULTZ OR WEINBERGER IN DIRECT OPPOSITION, BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT HAS ALREADY MADE A RULING. AND SO IN OUR SYSTEM, WHEN THE PRESIDENT HAS RULED, THAT'S IT. NOW, HOWEVER, IF WE FAIL, THE WHOLE ISSUE WILL OPEN UP ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

NORTH: THEY OBJECTED, BUT THEY WENT ALONG, IS THE WAY TO PUT IT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: I HAVE BEEN GIVEN UNTIL SUNDAY TO PROVE THAT THIS WORKS. FIVE DAYS FROM NOW.

SECCRD: STEP FOUR WAS TRIGGERED THIS MORNING. SO SATURDAY IS THE DATE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

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MEETING AT MAINZ, W. GERMANY, 29-30 OCTOBER 1986)

KIM: ((INTERPRETS IN PERSIAN)) AND IF THEY ARE NOT SUCCESSFUL, THEY WILL LEAVE THIS CHANNEL; THEY WILL PURSUE ((WORD MISSED)) CHANNEL. IF THEY DON'T GIVE THEM A ((POSITIVE)) REPORT BY SUNDAY, THEY WILL ABANDON THIS ROUTE.

VE: ((IN PERSIAN)) I'D LIKE TO ADD SOMETHING. SINCE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, WE KNOW THAT IF WE DO NOT COMPLETE THIS, ALL THE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

VE: ((IN ENGLISH)) I TOLD THEM THAT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) IF WE ARE NOT SUCCESSFUL, AND THIS CHANNEL IS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)), THEN ALL THIS WORK WE'VE DONE ...

ORTH: AND IT WILL TAKE A YEAR ...

KIM: ((INTERPRETS IN PERSIAN)) HE WAS EXPLAINING THAT IF WE ARE NOT SUCCESSFUL, NOT ONLY WILL THIS GROUP'S WORK COME TO AN END AND ((FEW WORDS MISSED)), BUT GROUPS IN THE FUTURE WHICH WANT TO MAKE CONTACT WILL USE THIS AS AN EXAMPLE--THAT IRANIANS ARE NOT RELIABLE?. THIS WILL BE STUDIED.

MII & HAKIM:

VE: ((IN PERSIAN--UNINTELLIGIBLE))

CORD: WHAT NORTH IS GETTING AT IS WE ARE GOING DOWN IN THE STEPS NOW-- THE NINE POINTS. WE'RE GOING TO VERY QUICKLY... WE EXPECT THEM TO MOVE VERY QUICKLY SO THAT WE CAN MOVE TO THE NEXT STEP, AND THE NEXT STEP, AND THE NEXT STEP AND THERE WON'T BE ANY OPPOSITION.

KIM: ((INTERPRETS))

HAKIM:

KIM: ((INTERPRETS)) IF YOU DON'T HAVE ANY MORE ISSUES ON YOUR SIDE, HE LIKES TO LET ME EXPLAIN WHAT'S HAPPENING ON THEIR SIDE.

ORTH: WELL, I DO WANT TO HEAR THAT. LET ME JUST MAKE ONE POINT ABOUT THAT... HE ((HAKIM)) WORKS FOR ME--YOU ((GAVE)) TRANSLATE THIS-- HE WORKS FOR ME AS A CONSULTANT. I DON'T KNOW THE FARSI WORD FOR CONSULTANT, BUT AS A PART-TIME CONTRACT EMPLOYEE.

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VE: ((INTERPRETS))

ORTH: HE HAS BEEN THIS FOR FOUR, FIVE YEARS, FOR ME SINCE I HAVE BEEN AT THE WHITE HOUSE--IN THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE. HE DOES TRANSLATIONS. THE VOA BROADCASTS IN FARSI, WHICH YOU ASKED FOR AND WE GAVE. HE TRANSLATED THOSE FROM MY ENGLISH TO FARSI.

VE: ((INTERPRETS))

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SECORD: AND IF WE FAIL, WE'RE GOING TO SHOOT HIM, BECAUSE SOMEBODY HAS TO GO. LIKE IN IRAN, SOMEBODY HAS TO BE SHOT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: I DON'T BELIEVE IT THAT ((WORD MISSED)) SAID THAT.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) MR. NORTH AND I ARE LUCKY. THEY WON'T SHOOT US, WE'LL JUST GO TO JAIL.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS IN ENGLISH))

NORTH: FIRED.

SECORD: THE PRESIDENT MAY SHOOT NORTH.

HAKIM: OK, HE WANTS TO EXPLAIN HIS CASE.

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) I HAVE ADDRESSED THIS ISSUE EARLIER THAT? HE'S BRINGING UP. HE WANTS TO CLARIFY HIS POSITION THAT PEOPLE BACK HOME BELIEVE THAT A LOT OF TIMES HE TALKS ABOUT THINGS WHICH HE SHOULD NOT TALK ABOUT. THEREFORE, IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT WHATEVER HE TELLS US SHOULD NOT GET INTO THE OFFICIAL CHANNELS AND GET BACK TO THEM? BECAUSE THAT WOULD MAKE LIFE MISERABLE FOR HIM AND DIFFICULT FOR HIM. HE HAS NO FINANCIAL INTEREST ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ONE OBJECTIVE IS TO MAKE SURE THAT THIS THING IS GOING TO ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). HE HAS FULL TRUST IN THIS GROUP, ESPECIALLY IN GENERAL SECORD. HE HAS BEEN VERY TRUTHFUL WITH HIM, VERY HELPFUL, AND HE WANTS TO SEE THAT SOMETHING GOOD IS GOING TO COME OUT OF THIS. THEREFORE, PLEASE, WHATEVER HE DISCUSSES SHOULD NOT LEAVE THIS ROOM SO HE WILL FEEL COMFORTABLE TO BE ABLE TO GET BACK TO US ((TRAILS OFF)). I DISCUSSED THAT EARLIER THIS WEEK ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS YOU HAVE TO UNDERSTAND THAT IRAN JUST FINISHED ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) AND SETTING IMAM KHOMEINI ASIDE. THE COUNTRY IS MANAGED BY SHAREHOLDING ((WORD MISSED)), AND ONCE YOU PUT KHOMEINI ASIDE, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF PEOPLE INVOLVED.

BAHRAMANI AND HAKIM:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) THERE ARE THREE BASIC GROUPS OF THIS SHAREHOLDING COMPANY. THEY ARE MINOR SHAREHOLDERS. ONE IS THE RADICALS, AND THEY ARE ((WORD MISSED)) RADICAL AND ((WORD MISSED)) RADICAL WITHIN THE SAME. THEN THE THIRD GROUP IS THE RIGHT-WING, AND THEN THERE'S TWO ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) WHO IS HEADED BY HASHEMI-RAFSANJANI, AND NOT ONLY DO THEY FOLLOW THEIR OWN LINE, BUT THEY ARE ALSO THE CONNECTION IN BETWEEN THE FIRST AND

THE THIRD GROUP.
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BAHRAMANI:

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((SECORD MAKES A PHONE CALL, BLOCKING OUT MOST OF SEVERAL MINUTES OF DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND IRANIAN TEAMS))

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AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WANTS YOU TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE PRINCIPLE ... THESE THREE GROUPS HAVE THE SAME OBJECTIVE AND THEY ALL AGREE IN THE SAME WAY. WHEN IT COMES TO ACTUAL EXECUTION, THEY HAVE DIFFERENT APPROACHES. AND THEY ARE NOT PURELY POLITICAL ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) RELIGIOUS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) AS YOU PROBABLY KNOW, IMAM KHOMEINI HAS ISSUED DECREES ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) IN PUBLIC OPINION HE ((RAFSANJANI)) IS CONSIDERED THE SECOND MAN, SECOND IN COMMAND, BASICALLY BECAUSE OF THESE ((WORD MISSED)).

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) WHEN MR. KANGARLU RAISED THE ISSUE OF ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. HE WAS IN FAVOR OF IT, BUT FOR HIS OWN POLITICS HE DECIDED TO GET ALL THE GROUPS INVOLVED AND GIVE THEM A ROLE TO PLAY.

DRTH: WAIT A MINUTE, WHO'S 'HE?'

AKIM: RAFSANJANI.

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WANTS YOU TO KNOW WHO KANGARLU IS. KANGARLU WORKS FOR MUSAVI, THE PRIME MINISTER. MUSAVI BELONGS TO THE RADICAL GROUP, THE RADICAL GROUP THAT THEY WERE THE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS WHO TOOK THE HOSTAGES IN IRAN. THAT'S THAT GROUP.

AHRAMANI AND HAKIM:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) WHEN KANGARLU CONTACTED MR. HASHEMI IN THIS APPROACH TO ESTABLISH A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S., HE, HASHEMI, ASKED FOR REPRESENTATIVES OF THE THREE GROUPS TO BE PRESENT AND PARTICIPATE IN THIS ACTION, AND ((TWO WORDS MISSED)) SUPPORT, IN OTHER WORDS THIS IDEA OF HAVING ALL GROUPS PARTICIPATE IN THIS IS NOT NEW, IT DATED BACK A LONG TIME AGO, AND STILL HE'S GOING TO EXPLAIN MORE AND STILL STICKING TO IT.

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) THIS ISSUE AS YOU CAN VERY WELL UNDERSTAND IS VERY SENSITIVE, YET HASHEMI DISCUSSED IT IN CABINET, IN PARLIAMENT, AND THE SON OF KHOMEINI--SEYYED AHMAD--ALSO DISCUSSED IT WITH KHOMEINI AND GOT HIS APPROVAL. OBVIOUSLY KHOMEINI DOESN'T GET INVOLVED IN THESE THINGS. BUT HE'S APPRISED AND APPROVES.

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) THIS APPROACH OF MR. HASHEMI WAS A DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD--AND POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE POINTS ... THE POSITIVE POINT BEING THAT IF IT WOULD BE A FAILURE AND ALL PARTIES ARE INVOLVED SO THERE WOULD NOT BE AN INTERNAL WAR; AND THE NEGATIVE PART IS THAT BECAUSE DIFFERENT VIEWS AND OPINIONS ARE UNDER THE SAME ROOF.

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12.
[REDACTED]
IT'S VERY DIFFICULT TO MANAGE.

SGRTH: SOUNDS LIKE HOME.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS IN PERSIAN. LAUGHTER.))

SGRTH: THE DIFFERENCE IS, IF THIS ONE FAILS, ONLY I GET FIRED. ((LAUGHS.))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS IN PERSIAN))

AHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE DOESN'T WANT TO GET INTO DISCUSSING THIS, BUT ALL THESE EFFORTS LED TO THE VISIT OF MCFARLANE, WHICH WAS CONSIDERED A TOTAL FAILURE, AND THE REASON FOR THAT--YOU CAN ANALYZE IT YOURSELF--((FEW WORDS MISSED)) YOU CAN CONSIDER ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) AND THEIR ANALYSIS SHOWS OPPOSITION IN THE U.S. --ALL THESE ISSUES CAUSED ?IT TO FAIL?

AHRAMANI & HAKIM:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) KANGARLU HAD TOLD HIM THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE PARTICIPATING AND HE SAID THAT HE DIDN'T KNOW FROM THE BEGINNING AND JUST FOUND OUT, AND THAT CREATED A LOT OF ...

AHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) A COMBINATION OF MANY THINGS THAT CAUSED THAT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). I ASKED HIM HOW DID YOU KNOW ABOUT THE ISRAELIS? MR. KANGARLU BROUGHT IT ...

SCORD: BUT KANGARLU ONLY RECENTLY BROUGHT IT ...

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR AHRAMANI))

AHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) AFTER THE CAT WAS OUT OF THE BAG, I JUST FOUND THAT HE WAS TRYING TO? ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). I JUST FOUND OUT IF ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

AHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) KANGARLU IS PORTRAYING THAT GHORBANIFAR HAS A HELL OF A LOT OF INFLUENCE WITH US ((THE AMERICANS)). STILL, AND STILL KANGARLU IS PUSHING FOR GHORBANIFAR, SAYING THAT WE SHOULD KEEP GHORBANIFAR IN THIS BECAUSE HE IS A SECURITY VALVE FOR US. IF SOMETHING SHOULD GO WRONG WITH THIS CHANNEL, WE CAN ALWAYS TURN GHORBANIFAR ON AND HE CAN FIX THINGS.

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AHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS SINCERELY KANGARLU BELIEVES--IT'S HIS HONEST OPINION, IT'S NOT A BIASED OPINION--THAT GHORBANIFAR CAN DO, UNOFFICIALLY, THINGS THAT HE CANNOT DO OFFICIALLY.

((HAKIM SAYS THAT ONE OF THE IRANIANS IS COLD. DOOR IS SHUT, WINDOW CLOSED.))

AHRAMANI:

[REDACTED]

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE HAS TOLD KANGARLU THAT 'YOU ARE WRONG.' AND HE GOES AND SEES THE AMERICANS. HE GOES WITH YOUR NAME AND AT YOUR STRENGTH--HE HIMSELF HAS NO STRENGTH WITH AMERICANS--((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BUT GHORBANIFAR HAS A LOT OF INFLUENCE WITH AMERICANS.

NORTH: HE HAS NO INFLUENCE WITH AMERICANS. I MEAN WE'RE THE AMERICANS TO BE TALKED TO.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE IS USING GHORBANIFAR AS THE ?QUALITY? PERSON. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THE FACT THAT GHORBANIFAR WAS THE ONE WHO PLANNED THE ASSASSINATION OF GENERAL OVEYSI.

SECCRO: ((TO NORTH)) THE FORMER COMMANDER OF THE GROUND FORCES.

NORTH: Hhm.

HAKIM: ((CONTINUES INTERPRETING)) AND HE ALSO PROMISED THE IRANIANS THAT HE WOULD CAUSE THE FRENCH POLICE NOT TO MAKE ONE MOVE, AND INDEED THEY DID NOT MAKE ONE MOVE

BAHRAMANI & HAKIM:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) KANGARLU SHOWS THIS AS A POINT OF STRENGTH OF GHORBANIFAR IN THE WESTERN WORLD. HE PLANNED THE ASSASSINATION, HE KEPT THE FRENCH POLICE OUT, AND THEY WERE THERE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT HE WAS SO CONVINCING THAT HE STARTED TO BELIEVE HIM THAT HE REALLY IS SUCH A POWERFUL MAN.

NORTH: I REGARD HIS POWER TO BE PURELY NEGATIVE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: IN THIS PARTICULAR RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U. S. AND IRAN, HE CAN DO NOTHING TO HELP IT ALONG.

HAKIM: (INTERPRETS))

NORTH: BUT HE HAS THE POWER TO DO MUCH DAMAGE TO IT BECAUSE OF HIS KNOWLEDGE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN EVIDENCE OF THAT, AND THAT HE BELIEVES-- GHORBANIFAR BELIEVES HE HAS NOT BEEN PAID THE FULL AMOUNT BY IRAN AND HE IS THREATENING TO MAKE PUBLIC THE EARLIER TRANSACTIONS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

((PORTION OF CONVERSATION UNINTELLIGIBLE.))

BAHRAMANI:

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) I HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN THE STATEMENT YOU MADE, BUT THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT. MR. HASHEMI-RAFSANJANI HAS PROPOSED AND THEY BELIEVE THIS IS A GOOD THING TOO AND THAT THE ((PORTION UNINTELLIGIBLE)) A COUPLE OF MONTHS AND SEE WHAT HAPPENS. THE REASON THEY HAVE NOT DONE THIS THING IS BASED ON WHAT HE TOLD ME THAT HE HAS DONE--((FEW WORDS MISSED)) DOCUMENTED ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR AND SO FORTH, THAT WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THIS. HE SAYS THEY ARE OF THE OPINION, WHETHER THEY ((ONE WORD MISSED)) OR NOT, HE IS GOING TO DO IT ANYWAY.

?CAVE? IF THEY COULD BRING HIM ?AFTER? A COUPLE OF MONTHS, IT WOULD BE GOOD.

NORTH: HE HAS ALREADY GIVEN THE INFORMATION TO ANOTHER MAN IN THE U.S. IF GHORBA DISAPPEARS.....

HAKIM: HE'S NOT TALKING ABOUT DISAPPEARING. HE'S GOING TO BE WORKING. HE'S GOING TO BE KEPT THERE AND THEN HE'S GOING TO BE WORKING AND ((ONE WORD MISSED.)) HE'S GOING TO BE CALLING, TALKING, DOING THE WHOLE THING.

NORTH: THAT'S FINE. AND IF GHORBA...

HAKIM: THEY'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT...

NORTH: ... INJURING HIM.

HAKIM: YEAH.

NORTH: WHAT I AM TALKING ABOUT IS THE PERCEPTION, RIGHT OR WRONG, THAT GHORBA OWES SEVERAL OTHER PEOPLE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. THAT'S WHY THEY'RE GOING TO TALK. IF GHORBA IS SEEN BY THEM TO HAVE DISAPPEARED, WE'RE LIABLE TO HAVE AN EVEN BIGGER PROBLEM.

RECORD: WHY DON'T THEY PAY THEIR BILL?

HAKIM: DO YOU WANT ME TO ASK HIM, OR DO YOU WANT ME TO TELL YOU. I KNOW.

RECORD: CAN WE ASK HIM WHY THEY DON'T PAY THE BILL?

HAKIM: YES. I THINK SO. LET ME TELL HIM WHAT HE SAID AND THEN... ((FEW WORDS MISSED.)) CORRECT. ((FEW WORDS)) OWE HIM 10 MILLION DOLLARS. BUT IT IS NOT...

NORTH: ((LAUGHS)) GHORBA'S GOT MORE CREDIBILITY THAN HE EVER DESERVED.

RECORD: NO, HE SAYS 10.

HAKIM: NO. IT'S 10. THEN HE HAS TO DELIVER FREE THE 1000 FREE TOWS. IT'S NOT ALL THAT...

RECORD: ?LET'S SAY? HE LIED.

HAKIM: GENTLEMEN, LET ME TRANSLATE. ((GOES INTO PERSIAN))

RECORD: WHAT THE HELL DOES HE SAY?

HAKIM: HE IS SAYING THAT KANGARLU HAS GOT THE MONEY...

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BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) KANGARLU, AFTER HE LEARNED WHAT THE REAL PRICE IS, HE KEPT THE MONEY. HE SAID BECAUSE ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: THE HAWK SPARE PARTS, WHICH THEY HAD CHARGED THEM 8 MILLION DOLLARS FOR THE 2.7 ((MILLION)). THEY CHARGED THE IRANIANS EIGHT.

SECOND: NO NO, NO, NO NO; THIS IS THE SECOND EXAMPLE.

DAVE: THE SECOND, IT IS NOT THE FIRST SHIPMENT. HE HAD TOLD THEM IT WAS 8 MILLION, THEN WHEN WE GOT THE BILL... WHEN WE GAVE THEM THE BILL FOR WHAT IT WAS... ((FEW WORDS)) 2.7, GHORBANIFAR HAD ALREADY TOLD THEM IT WOULD COST THEM 8 MILLION.

SECOND: SO, HE'S A BUSINESSMAN.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS IN PERSIAN FOR BAHRAMANI, THEN SAYS)) I HAVE TOLD HIM THAT OUR OPINION IS, AND WE HAVE DISCUSSED IT IN THE PAST, THAT HE SHOULD BE PAID.....

SECOND: HE SHOULD BE PAID AT LEAST SOMETHING RIGHT AWAY...

DAVE: TO KEEP HIM QUIET.

WORTH: WELL, QUITE FRANKLY, I DON'T GIVE A SHIT IF HE GETS PAID. WHAT I'M MORE INTERESTED IN IS THAT THE PEOPLE TO WHOM HE OWES MONEY GET PAID.

SECOND: DO WE KNOW HOW MUCH THAT IS?

WORTH: WELL, I THINK WE DO KNOW.

SECOND: HOW MUCH IS THAT?

DAVE: IT'S ABOUT... WELL, WE DON'T KNOW WHAT HE OWES. BUT FOR THE LAST DEAL... FOR THE SHIPMENT OF THE ORIGINAL PARTS, HE OWES THEM 10 MILLION.

HAKIM: THAT'S ALL THEY ((THE IRANIANS)) OWE HIM. THAT'S ALL THE MONEY THEY OWE GHORBANIFAR. TEN MILLION. I HAVE HEARD THIS...

WORTH: SEE, THAT WOULD MAKE SENSE. BECAUSE GHORBANIFAR WENT OUT AND BORROWED 15 MILLION DOLLARS. HE PAID OFF THE ONE GUY-- A EUROPEAN-- AND HE STILL OWES THE CANADIANS TEN. AND THAT WOULD MAKE SENSE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SECOND: ARE YOU SAYING THEY SHOULD PAY US AND WE PAY THE BANK?

WORTH: I DON'T WANT TO GET IN THE MIDDLE OF THIS. ((FEW WORDS))--THEY DIRECTLY GET SOLD? ROY TO SHOW UP SOMEWHERE, AND GET US THE BELL OUT OF IT.

((END OF TAPE A3))

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[REDACTED]
((TAPE A4))

HRAMANI:

KIM: ((INTERPRETS)) UNTIL A FEW DAYS AGO, BASED ON PREVIOUS ARRANGEMENTS, ALI HAD PROMISED THEM THAT HE WOULD APPROACH THIS IN A VERY PROPER WAY AND HANDLE IT VERY CORRECTLY. AND THEY HAD DECIDED TO KEEP THIS AWAY, SECRET FROM MOST OF THE PEOPLE, AND HE PERSONALLY COORDINATED WITH A NUMBER OF THE PEOPLE, BUT HE DOESN'T BELIEVE IT'S THE RIGHT TIME FOR HIM TO RELEASE THEIR NAMES. AND BROUGHT IT TO THE POINT THAT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) AND ONLY TWO DAYS AGO THAT THE UNCLE SAID THAT HE THINK IRAN HAS REACHED THE STAGE THAT WE SHOULD RETURN TO OTHER PEOPLE AS WELL.

HRAMANI:

KIM: ((INTERPRETS)) IT GOT TO THE POINT THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO KEEP IT SECRET BECAUSE, FOR INSTANCE, THE HEAD OF THE CENTRAL BANK--WHO IS A FRIEND OF MUSAVI'S--COULD HAVE FOUND OUT ABOUT THEIR TRYING TO GET 10 MILLION DOLLARS OUT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). THEY HAVE GOTTEN 8 MILLION OUT SO FAR. 4 AND 7 ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). THEY COULD NOT HAVE KEPT THAT A SECRET, SO THEY DECIDED TO BRING EVERYBODY ELSE IN.

HRAMANI:

KIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HIS NAME--ALI'S NAME--IS GOING TO BE GIVEN TO THE DIFFERENT GROUPS. THEY HAVE GIVEN AYUB'S NAME TO THE DIFFERENT GROUPS THAT HE HAS ((FEW WORDS)) AND THE REASON IS TO ENABLE HIM TO GO FROM ONE GROUP TO THE OTHER AND BE INVOLVED IN THE KIND OF WORK THAT HE CAN DO. NOW, WITH WHAT HAS HAPPENED, WITH THE TOWS COMING OUT, THEY ARE GOING TO PRICE IT, BY THE WAY, AT 8 THOUSAND EACH.

RTH: WAIT A MINUTE. I'M CONFUSED. WITH THE TOWS COMING WHERE?

KIM: IRAN. WHICH ARE THERE NOW.

RTH: THIS ONE...

KIM: YEAH. THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE THAT THEY GOT, AND THAT IN ITSELF IS A REVOLUTIONARY ACTION AND EVERYBODY'S GOING TO GO CRAZY AND BERSERK OVER THIS, BECAUSE IT IS SUCH AN IMPORTANT EVENT IN THIS TYPE OF PICTURE.

DORD: BUT WHAT'S THE POINT?

IM: I STOPPED, YOU KNOW, I'M TRYING TO TRANSLATE.

HRAMANI:

IM: ((INTERPRETS)): HE IS EXPLAINING WHY THE ARRIVAL OF THE TOWS--AND THE MILITARY INFORMATION IS COMPLETELY BACKED UP--FIRST, ONE: KANGARLU AND HIS GROUP--MUSAVI--ARE GOING TO BE TOTALLY ELIMINATED.

HRAMANI:

IM: ((INTERPRETS)): TWO. THIS WILL ESTABLISH THE CREDIBILITY OF THIS CHANNEL AS THE ONLY CHANNEL, AS THEY HAVE BEEN CLAIMING, WHO SHOULD BE CONTACTED.

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[REDACTED]
AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE'S GIVING AN EXAMPLE. HE RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, AND THE PEOPLE DID NOT BELIEVE IT, AND HE CONFIRMED THAT, YES, INDEED, THEY BROUGHT IT, AND THEY CANNOT PUT IN WRITING THAT IT'S IMPORTANT TO ((WORD MISSING)) THIS THING OUT, AND ALL THESE ISSUES STARTED THEM TO THINK THAT IT IS ((FEW WORDS)) GROUP.

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)): HE'S COMING BACK TO THE DISCUSSION THAT THEY STARTED TO DISCUSS AT THE BEGINNING. HE CAN TAKE BACK THE REAL MOTIVATION BEHIND OUR APPROACHING THEM AND REMOVE THE DOUBTS AND DIFFERENT THOUGHTS YOU PEOPLE HAVE, THINGS THAT ((FEW WORDS MISSING)) QUICKLY. THAT IS, HE COULD GO AND SAY THAT, REALLY, THE MAIN THING THAT WE ARE AFTER IS THE ISSUE OF THE HOSTAGES. TO... THEY'LL GET THINGS GOING. AT THIS MINUTE, THEY ARE CONFUSED. THEY DON'T KNOW WHAT WE WANT, AND THEY BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE FOUR OR FIVE OTHER CHANNELS, AND THIS IS ONE OF THEM, AND THERE IS A SCHEME, BUT THEY ARE NOT QUITE SURE WHAT IS HAPPENING.

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)): HE'S GOING BACK TO THE MAIN DISCUSSION. THE HIGHLY RADICAL IS MONTAZERI... HIS GROUP, IN REFERENCE TO HIS...

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)): WHAT ALI IS DOING HERE... I THINK I'M BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND WHAT HE'S DOING. HE'S TRYING TO EXPLAIN WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE HE LEFT US. THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENT PEOPLE, THEY ARE DOING MANY DIFFERENT THINGS, AND HE'S COME DOWN... HE'S COMING TO THE HEART OF IT NOW... HE WAS CONCERNED THAT THE HIGHLY RADICAL PEOPLE, I.E., MONTAZERI'S GROUP, ((INCIDENTAL DISCUSSION)) HE HAD THE FEAR ((THAT)) BEFORE THEY GET TO SOME PLACE SOLID, AND IF THE RADICALS, MONTAZERI'S GROUP, WOULD FIND OUT, HE COULD NOT PREDICT WHAT WOULD HAPPEN THEN. ((THE PERSIANS APPARENTLY LEAVE THE ROOM AT THIS TIME))

ORTH: BUT JUST A LITTLE WHILE AGO HE SAID THAT HIS UNCLE BROUGHT EVERYBODY IN. ((SIGH)) THAT'S QUITE A PLAN! WAY BACK WHEN KANGARLU WAS HERE...

AKIM: YES, BUT THEY, THEY BROUGHT HIM IN, THEY TOLD HIM JUST THAT THEY'RE DOING, BUT THEY NEVER TOLD HIM HOW THEY'RE DOING IT. THAT WAS A POLITICAL MOVE.

ORTH: O.K., BUT I DON'T UNDERSTAND....

AKIM: ((INTERRUPTS)): CAN WE AT ONE POINT TAKE A LITTLE TIME AND GET INTO.....

((TIME OUT FOR CHATTER ABOUT ROOMS, MAKING A PHONE CALL, ETC.))

AKIM: I DETECT THAT HE IS... HE'S TRYING... HE'S PUSHING FOR THE UNCLE ?THE ONLY THING?, IT'S UNJUSTIFIED. NOW THAT HE'S SEEN SUCCESS, HE'S TRYING TO.... ((DOESN'T FINISH))

((TIME OUT FOR ANOTHER PHONE CALL.))
[REDACTED]

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((CHATTER ABOUT HOTEL ROOMS, PER-DIEM, ETC. PERSIANS BACK IN ROOM NOW. EATING MEAL, SENDING MESSAGES. NORTH EXPLAINS SECURE DEVICE TO THE PERSIANS AND PROMISES TO PROVIDE THEM WITH EVEN BETTER EQUIPMENT AFTER HE PROVES TO HIS BOSS THAT THE CH WORKS.))

((END TAPE A4))

((BEGINNING OF TAPE A5))

NORTH: O.K. YOU WERE TALKING ABOUT....

AKIM: MR. MONTAZERI.

SAHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)): HE'S TRYING TO GIVE YOU VERY IMPORTANT INFORMATION AS TO HOW THEY CAME TO LEARN THAT MONTAZERI KNEW WHY THEY WERE TRYING TO KEEP HIM OUT. HE KNEW THAT. AND HE ALSO IN THIS EXPLANATION IS GOING TO TELL YOU ABOUT THE REST OF ((FEW WORDS)). AFTER IT BECAME KNOWN IN SAUDI (ARABIA) ABOUT THE EXPLOSIVES, THEY STARTED TO INVESTIGATE TO SEE HOW AND WHO DID IT.

SAHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)): THEIR INVESTIGATION SHOWED THAT SEYYED MEHDI HASHEMI WAS BEHIND THIS, AND HE BELONGED TO THE... THE LIBERATION GROUP.

RECORD: THE TERRORIST GROUP.

AKIM: RIGHT. THAT'S WHAT THEY ARE, BUT HE--SEYYED MEHDI HASHEMI--WAS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY GUARD, HEAD OF THE LIBERATION GROUP. I'M TRYING TO UNDERSTAND WHAT THAT IS.

RECORD: HE WAS IN ...

AVE: HE WAS. HE WAS THE HEAD OF THE LIBERATION FRONT. REMEMBER THE PASDARAN ALSO HAD A LIBERATION GROUP THAT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR EXTERNAL OPERATIONS.

RECORD: BUT HE'S NO LONGER IN THE PASDARAN?

AKIM: HE WAS NO LONGER...

AVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) WHAT IS SEYYED MEHDI HASHEMI'S JOB NOW?

SAHRAMANI:

AVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WAS THE... BUT BECAUSE OF THE WAY HE WAS RUNNING THESE THINGS, TWO YEARS AGO THEY DISMISSED HIM.

SAHRAMANI:

AVE: ((INTERPRETS)) BUT HE STILL REMAINS, YOU KNOW, UNOFFICIALLY, AS FAR AS MONTAZERI IS CONCERNED, THE HEAD OF IT.

SAHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) THEY HAD LEARNED ABOUT THIS THING AND THEY ARRESTED MEHDI HASHEMI. BUT WHILE DOING THAT, THEY MADE A MISTAKE AND ALSO

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ARRESTED THE SON OF MONTAZERI, WHOM THEY RELEASED.

TH: WHY WAS HE ARRESTED?

IM: ((INTERPRETS))

RAMANI:

IM: ((INTERPRETS)) WHEN THEY WENT TO MEHDI'S HOME TO ARREST HIM, SA'ID WAS ALSO THERE AND THEY ARRESTED HIM AS WELL. SA'ID IS ABOUT HIS AGE AND LOOKS VERY MUCH LIKE HIM. HE LOST ONE OF HIS EYES IN THE WAR.

ORD: SO IT WAS A MISTAKE

IM: YEAH, IT WAS A MISTAKE; THEY RELEASED HIM.

RAMANI:

IM: ((INTERPRETS)) IMAM KHOMEINI WAS ALWAYS CONCERNED ABOUT MEHDI HASHEMI GETTING INVOLVED IN THE FOREIGN ACTIVITIES, BUT THEY COULD NOT PROVE IT UNTIL THIS CAME ABOUT.

RAMANI:

IM: ((INTERPRETS)) WITHOUT COORDINATING THE INFORMATION WITH THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HE HAD SENT A DELEGATION TO AFGHANISTAN.

RAMANI:

IM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE HAD A PLAN OF COUP D'ETAT IN BAHRAIN.

ORD: IS HE THE ONE WHO TRIED IT ((WORD MISSED)) THREE YEARS AGO?

IM: ((INTERPRETS))

RAMANI:

IM: ((INTERPRETS)) IT STARTED A FEW YEARS AGO AND HE STILL WAS FOLLOWING IT.

ATH: IS HE THE ONE WHO TRIED THE COUP IN BAHRAIN, THOUGH?

IM: YEAH.

E: AND THEN EVEN AFTER IT FAILED AND HE WAS THROWN OUT, HE'S STILL FOLLOWING IT.

RAMANI:

IM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE'S VERY CLOSE TO ((WORD MISSED)) VERY VERY CLOSE.

RAMANI:

IM: ((INTERPRETS)) AND MONTAZERI ALWAYS DENIED THAT THIS GUY WAS DOING. HE SAID THIS GUY WAS SITTING AT HIS HOME DOING NOTHING.

RAMANI:

IM: ((INTERPRETS)) AND IMAM KHOMEINI WAS VERY MUCH CONCERNED ABOUT THIS AND HE HAD ORDERED THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION TO FOLLOW UP ON THIS

AND CHECK TO SEE IF THEY HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH IT.

SAHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) TWO WEEKS AGO THEY ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) HOME--THEY CALL IT THE 'GROUP HOME'--((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THEY CAPTURED A LOT OF ARMS, AMMUNITION, AND DOCUMENTS RELATED TO THE COUP ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

SAHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) IMMEDIATELY AN ORDER WAS ISSUED BY KHOMEINI, ALTHOUGH THIS GUY WAS BEING PROTECTED BY MONTAZERI, TO ARREST HIM.

SAHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HERE HE WANTS ME TO MENTION ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ((HAKIM LAUGHS AND SAYS, 'YOU'RE GOING TO LOVE THIS.')) HE SAYS THAT'S TRUE THAT HE IS ARRESTED, BUT THIS IS AS A CONSEQUENCE, A RESULT, OF YOUR DISCUSSIONS WITH MR. MCFARLANE THAT YOU HAVE AGREED TO ARREST HIM.

RECORD: I DON'T UNDERSTAND THAT.

AKIM: HE'S IMPLYING WHEN MONTAZERI WAS INFORMED THAT SEYYED MEHDI HASHEMI WAS ARRESTED AND THEY EXPLAINED TO HIM WHY HE WAS ARRESTED, HE SAID, 'YES, I KNOW YOU ARRESTED HIM, BUT THE REASON THAT YOU'VE ARRESTED HIM WAS THE RESULT OF YOUR MEETING WITH MR. MCFARLANE. THAT'S WHY HE ...'

ORTH: HE BELIEVES THAT? MONTAZERI BELIEVES THAT?

AKIM: THIS IS WHAT HE SAYS. LET'S GET TO THE BOTTOM OF IT.

SAHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE ((MONTAZERI)) SAYS, 'YOU WOULD HAVE AGREED WITH THE AMERICANS TO PUT THE RADICAL PEOPLE IN THEIR PLACE, AND THAT'S AS A RESULT OF THAT AGREEMENT.'

RECORD: WHO IS 'YOU,' RAFSANJANI? WHO WAS HE TALKING TO?

SAHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE PUT THAT IN A LETTER TO IMAM KHOMEINI. ((AND MONTAZERI SAID)) 'I MUST UNDERSTAND WHO GAVE THE PERMISSION TO HAVE THE MEETING WITH MR. MCFARLANE.' AND THIS THING WAS STAGED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE POINT OF THE GUN WAS STUCK AT NAJAFI ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). AND THE REASON THE GUN WAS POINTED AT HIM WAS BECAUSE DR. NAJAFI WAS KNOWN TO BE THE VERY STRONG ENEMY OF SEYYED MEHDI HASHEMI. ((CONTINUES QUOTING MONTAZERI'S LETTER)). AND I MUST INFORM YOU THAT YOU HAD THIS MEETING WITH MR. MCFARLANE WITHOUT THE PERMISSION OF THE PEOPLE, AND GOD KNOWS WHAT OTHER THINGS YOU GUYS HAVE AGREED ON. ((LAUGHTER FROM AMERICANS.))

RECORD: WAIT A MINUTE, HE'S TELLING KHOMEINI, 'WHERE DID YOU GET THE AUTHORITY?'

AKIM: NO. HE'S SAYING THAT NAJAFI--HE POINTED THE GUN AT NAJAFI. HE SAYS

HE DOESN'T KNOW HOW NAJAFI... BUT LET ME EXPLAIN SOMETHING: WHEN YOU ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) YOU DO NOT NECESSARILY ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THE IRANIAN WAY, SPECIFICALLY. YOU IMPLY, AND YOU ADDRESS ONE CERTAIN PERSON AND YOU, YOU KNOW, IT'S AN IMAGINARY.....

RECORD: HE (MONTAZARI) IS SAYING, 'I DON'T UNDERSTAND HOW DR. NAJAFI GETS SUCH AUTHORITY.

AKIM: RIGHT

((SEVERAL EXCHANGES INAUDIBLE.))

ORTH: HOW LONG AGO WAS THIS LETTER WRITTEN?

AKIM: ((AFTER CONFERRING WITH BAHRAMANI)) SAYYED MEHDI WAS ARRESTED 11 DAYS AGO. NINE DAYS AGO.

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): IMMEDIATELY THIS ISSUE WAS DISCUSSED IN PARLIAMENT, IN THE UNIVERSITIES, AND IN THE MEETINGS OF THE SCHOLARS.

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): SOME PEOPLE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) NAJAFI'S REAL NAME IS DR. HADI, AND AT ONE OF THESE MEETINGS--THE SCHOLARS' MEETINGS--THIS FELLOW ((NAME MISSED)) ASKED HIM, 'HEY, DR. NAJAFI, WHAT REALLY HAPPENED WITH MR. MCFARLANE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) SECRET PLANE.

ORTH: HOW DID THEY KNOW THAT?

AKIM: ((AFTER CONFERRING WITH BAHRAMANI)) MR. MONTAZARI SAID THAT HE HAD A SPY IN THAT MEETING.

ORTH: WHO? ((LAUGHTER)) HE TELLS A GOOD STORY.

AKIM: ALI SAYS IF YOU WANT TO HEAR THE REST OF THE STORY, YOU'LL HAVE TO GIVE HIM 250 MORE TOWS. ((MORE LAUGHTER))

ORTH: QUITE A STORY TELLER. WHERE'S THE PHONE? ((LAUGHTER))

RECORD: TELL HIM I HAVE THE POLICE RIGHT OUTSIDE.

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): SIX NIGHTS AGO, KHOMEINI CALLED HIM IN? TO TEHRAN FROM GOM. ((FEW WORDS)) MONTAZERI.

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): WHEN HE WAS CALLED TO THIS MEETING WITH KHOMEINI, THEY DISCUSSED VARIOUS ISSUES, EVEN HIS UNCLE, MR. HASHEMI WAS ALSO PRESENT, AND THEY TALKED ABOUT SAYYED MEHDI HASHEMI AND HIS PARTICIPATION IN FOREIGN ACTIVITIES WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION ((WORD MISSED)) AND ALL THAT. AND THEY GOT TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE OF THE AMERICAN, AND MR. HASHEMI BRIEFED MONTAZERI ABOUT WHAT WAS HAPPENING AND HE SAID, 'OH, MR. GHORBANIFAR IS A ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) OLD PERSONAL FRIEND.

ORTH: HE TOLD ME ALL THESE THINGS. GHORBA TELLS EVERYBODY, HE TELLS BANKERS.

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[REDACTED]
((LAUGHTER))

ORTH: YEAH. AND THE ISRAELIS. TOO. THAT GUY IS ARRANGING EVERYTHING.

((FEW EXCHANGES MISSING)).

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): HE SAID THEY HAD STARTED TO SUSPECT HIM ((BAHRAMANI)).
BECAUSE HE SAID, ABOUT NAJAFI, HE SAID HE HAD LEARNED ALL THESE
THINGS FROM THE AMERICANS, SO IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT HE TOLD MONTAZERI.
HE WAS THE SPY. AND WHEN IT BECAME KNOWN.....

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): WHEN THIS BECAME KNOWN, THAT'S WHY THEY ARE REALLY
ANXIOUS TO BRING GHORBA BACK AND KEEP HIM FOR A COUPLE OF MONTHS.
I HAVE A FEELING THAT WHEN THEY SAY A COUPLE OF MONTHS, IT'S GOING
TO BE A LONG, LONG COUPLE MONTHS.

ORTH: YEAH. BUT HE'LL NEVER GO. HE WON'T GO. HOW WOULD THEY GET HIM?

AKIM: ((AFTER ASKING BAHRAMANI)) KANGARLU CAN DO IT. KANGARLU CAN BRING HIM.

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): SOMETHING VERY INTERESTING WHICH DURING THE MINISTER
OF ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS PUBLISHED 5 MILLION
COPIES OF THE STATEMENT ABOUT THESE AFFAIRS ((FEW WORDS MISSED))
KNOW WHAT WENT ON THERE.

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): ((IT)) HAD GOTTEN SO BAD THAT ALI WAS AFRAID OF
COMING OVER, AND HE BROUGHT IT TO HIS ATTENTION THAT IT WAS WITH
THE APPROVAL OF THE IMAM KHOMEINI ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

ORTH: SAYUB? WAS AFRAID?

AKIM: ALI WAS AFRAID OF COMING TO THIS CHANNEL. HE WAS MORE AFRAID
BECAUSE HE DIDN'T CONTACT THIS CHANNEL THEY JUST SENT.

AHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): ALI WAS AFRAID ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BLOWN.

ORTH: IF IT WAS BLOWN, IT WAS ONLY BLOWN INSIDE.

AHRAMANI:

((FEW EXCHANGES INAUDIBLE))

ORTH: BUT GHORBANIFAR KNOWS SOMETHING IS GOING ON.

ECORD: HE DOESN'T KNOW EXACTLY WHAT. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) UNLESS KANGARLU
HAS TOLD HIM.

ORTH: THAT'S A GOOD POINT.

AKIM: KANGARLU DOESN'T KNOW EVERYTHING.

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ORTH: KANGARLU KNOWS A LOT.

RECORD: BECAUSE KANGARLU TOLD ((WORD MISSED)), KANGARLU TOLD GHORBANIFAR.

AKIM: KANGARLU DOESN'T KNOW EVERYTHING ABOUT THIS ...

ORTH: [REDACTED]

AKIM: ... THAT SOMETHING IS HAPPENING.

ORTH: ... AND HE KNOWS IT'S HIM.

RECORD: HE KNOWS IT'S HIM AND HE KNOWS ABOUT THE MEETING IN BRUSSELS.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETING FOR BAHRAMANI))

((PORTION MISSED))

AKIM: DOES HE MENTION HIS NAME?

ORTH: YES.

RECORD: HE MENTIONS A YOUNG BOY.

BAHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): HE THINKS IT'S ESKANDARI.

RECORD: IT'S GOOD IF HE THINKS THAT.

ORTH: WHICH ONE IS HE?

RECORD: ESKANDARI'S A YOUNG ... HE WAS IN MADRID, REMEMBER?

AKIM: HE'S STILL THERE. THAT'S ONE REASON THEY'RE GOING BACK.

RECORD: HE'S A ((WORD MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): HE REFUSES TO GO BACK, AND IF HE DOESN'T RELEASE THE MONEY, HE IS SUPPOSED TO GO HOME ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). HE'S GOT 20 MILLION DOLLARS--LISTEN TO THIS, I'M NOT KIDDING YOU-- HE'S GOT 20 MILLION DOLLARS, HE HAS HIS ORDER FROM HIS COUSIN, MOHSEN REZA'I, TO GO BACK, HE DOESN'T ((WORD MISSED)) WANT TO GO BACK BECAUSE HE WANTS TO MAKE THIS COMMISSION FOR THE TOWS BECAUSE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) HE CAN MAKE \$1,200 PER TOW THAT THEY BRING IN.

ORTH: LOOK, THERE'S ONLY ONE ... NO ONE ELSE HAS EVER DELIVERED ANY ...

AKIM: THEY KNOW THAT. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) HE DOESN'T KNOW.

RECORD: HE SAYS THAT THEY KNOW IT, BUT THIS IDIOT DOESN'T ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

AKIM: AND HE DOESN'T RELEASE THE MONEY. YOU KNOW WHAT? SOMEONE HAS BEEN TELLING HIM? HE SAID, 'WHY DON'T YOU TAKE THE 20 MILLION DOLLARS AND JUST ((WORD MISSED)).'

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BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): THE MISINFORMATION THAT ALI HAS BROUGHT OUT IS THAT
ESKANDARI HAS ESTABLISHED A LINK WITH AMERICANS AND THEN THEY HAVE
APPOINTED AYUB TO FOLLOW UP ON THIS LINK. AND THIS SUBJECT, ONLY
AYUB, MR. HASHEMI, AND HIMSELF ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN TO BAHRAMANI--INAUDIBLE)).

SECCORD: DOES KANGARLU KNOW OF HIS INVOLVEMENT, OF THE DETAILS?

HAKIM: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BUT HE ((KANGARLU)) HAS COME TO HIM
((BAHRAMANI)): NOT KNOWING HE'S INVOLVED, AND ASKED HIS
OPINION--THIS IS ABOUT THREE OR FOUR WEEKS AGO.

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): WHEN HE RETURNED FROM WASHINGTON, TWO DAYS AFTER
THAT HE ((KANGARLU)) WENT TO HIM ((BAHRAMANI)).

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): BECAUSE HE KNOWS THAT ALI KNOWS WHAT'S GOING ON
((FEW WORDS MISSED)) FOUND OUT, AND HE TOLD ESKANDARI.

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING)): THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BRUSSELS.

CAVE: ((WORDS MISSED)) KEPT ASKING ME, 'ARE YOU CURRENT ON WHAT'S GOING
GOING ON IN BRUSSELS?' I SAID, 'YEAH ((WORDS MISSED)).'

SECCORD: BUT IF HE KNEW ... HOW WOULD HE KNOW ABOUT BRUSSELS?

CAVE: THIS IS ... KANGARLU KNOWS.

SECCORD: YES, BUT HOW WOULD HE KNOW?

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((AFTER ASKING BAHRAMANI)) HASHEMI-RAFSANJANI TOLD KANGARLU ...

SECCORD: THAT THERE WAS A DISCUSSION IN BRUSSELS ...

HAKIM: AND HE HAD YOUR NAME AND MY NAME, BUT THEY DIDN'T WANT TO USE HIS
NAME. HE PREPARED THE REPORT, LET ME BACK UP. HE PREPARED THE REPORT.
WHEN HE WENT BACK FROM BRUSSELS, HE PREPARED THE REPORT FOR HIS
UNCLE. HE SAID, 'I HAD A MEETING WITH FOUR PEOPLE,' AND HE PUT TWO
FAKE NAMES AND CORRECT NAMES. HE MENTIONED YOU BY NAME, MENTIONED
ME BY FIRST NAME, AND DISCUSSED EVERYTHING THAT WE HAD DISCUSSED.
SO HASHEMI-RAFSANJANI CALLS KANGARLU IN AND SAYS, 'HEY, YOU LIED
TO US, BECAUSE I HAVE, THROUGH MY SOURCES--WITHOUT SAYING WHAT THE
SOURCE IS--RECEIVED INFORMATION, AND THE INFORMATION SAYS 1, 2, 3, 4,
EVERYTHING THAT WE DISCUSSED ((WORDS MISSED)).'

SECCORD: AND THAT'S WHY HE WAS FISHING.

HAKIM: THAT'S WHY HE CAME TO YOU, SIR?

CAVE: YEAH, AND THAT'S WHY ((WORDS MISSED)) TOLD HIM NOTHING ...

AKIM: AND HE PROBABLY TOLD GHORBANIFAR, 'SOMETHING'S GOING ON.'

AVE: ((MISSED))

AKIM: HE CREATED THE NAME.

RECORD: THAT WAS IN THE CONVERSATION WITH ?SAM?

((SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS GOING ON SIMULTANEOUSLY))

ORTH: WE'VE GOT TO GET THIS S.O.B. WORKING. THAT'S WHAT WE'VE GOT TO DO. AND IT'S GOING TO BE ALL OVER THE FREAKIN WORLD. WHAT WE'VE GOT TO DO IS FIGURE OUT HOW WE'RE GOING TO HANDLE THE NEXT, LITERALLY, FEW DAYS. AT SOME POINT ALONG THE LINE, WE'RE GOING TO BE FORCED INTO ACKNOWLEDGING THAT WE'RE HOLDING PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ?IRANIANS?

RECORD: THE PROBLEM I SEE IS THAT WE CAN AFFORD THE HEAT, BUT I DON'T THINK THEY CAN. I MEAN, YOU CAN TAKE THE HIGH ROAD. ((YOU CAN SAY)) OF COURSE WE'RE TALKING. WE'RE TRYING ALL THE TIME ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) USE EVERY CHANNEL AVAILABLE. AND WE'RE ALSO TRYING TO STOP THIS BLOODY WAR ((FEW WORDS)) PEACE IN THE REGION. BUT I DON'T THINK THEY CAN STAND THE HEAT. DO YOU AGREE?

AVE: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) TO GET THOSE GUYS TO RELEASE THOSE DAMN HOSTAGES SO THAT WE CAN PUT THE BEST LIGHT ON THIS.

RECORD: WELL, IF THEY DO THAT, IT WOULD MAKE IT EASIER ON US.

ORTH: WELL, THAT'S WHAT I'M AIMING FOR.

RECORD: BUT THEIR PROBLEM ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

ORTH: I UNDERSTAND THAT. THAT'S WHY THIS BACKGROUND IS VERY IMPORTANT TO WHAT WE SAY OR DON'T SAY. YOU KNOW, I MEAN, THERE'S ALREADY RUMORS, AND WE'VE SEEN THE JACK ANDERSON STUFF.

RECORD: IS HE ((BAHRAMANI)) FINISHED WITH HIS AGENDA?

AKIM: ((ASKS BAHARAMANI))

BAHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((FEW WORDS)) IS ACTUALLY ON BAD TERMS...

ORTH: WHO?

AKIM: MONTAZERI. HE IS NOT ON GOOD TERMS WITH THE REGIME. HE HAS SHUT DOWN HIS HOUSE TO PEOPLE SO NO ONE CAN GO TO HIM, AND HE HAS CLOSED HIMSELF IN.

AVE: HE HAS SEQUESTERED HIMSELF, IS ABOUT THE BEST WAY YOU CAN PUT IT.

ORTH: IS HE UNDER HOUSE ARREST?

AVE: NO. THAT'S "MOHASEREH" ((PERSIAN WORD FOR SEIGE)) ((WORD MISSED)) IS WHEN HE DOES IT HIMSELF, BUT IT'S UNDERSTOOD HE HAS TO DO IT.

AKIM: IF HE DIDN'T DO IT HE'D BE IN DEEP

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[REDACTED]

NORTH: HEY, WHERE ARE WE HEADED HERE, GUYS? WE NEED TO HAVE A SENSE FOR

RECORD: I THINK WHERE WE OUGHT TO HEAD IS A DISCUSSION OF WHAT KIND OF ANNOUNCEMENTS OUGHT TO BE MADE WHEN THESE TWO GUYS ARE RELEASED THIS WEEKEND. THAT'S A TACTICAL THING THAT NEEDS TO BE

NORTH: ((LOUDLY)) HEY, GUYS DOWNSTAIRS. IF YOU GOT ANY MORE TAPE, SOMEBODY BRING IT UP TO 509. ((LAUGHS)) WE'RE OUT OF TAPE FOR OUR FREAKIN MACHINE. ((LAUGHTER)).

AKIM: THIS GUY HAS TOLD 16 PEOPLE...

NORTH: WHO'S THIS GUY?

AKIM: SAYYED HASHEMI

NORTH: WHAT DO YOU ((FEW WORDS)) TO CHANGE HIS TAPE? ((APPARENTLY TALKING ABOUT BAHRAMANI, WHO HAS LEFT THE ROOM.))

AKIM: HE PROBABLY WENT TO SEE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

RECORD: HE WENT TO ?SEE? ((WORD MISSED))

ORTH: WHY, WHY IS HE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) NEXT DOOR?

AKIM: BECAUSE WE STARTED TALKING ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) HE SAID, HE MENTIONED, I ASKED HIM.....

ORTH: IS HE CARRYING SOME ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). ?DO THEY HAVE ONE? NEXT DOOR? ARE YOU SURE?

AVE: ((INAUDIBLE))

ORTH: WHAT DID HE SAY?

AKIM: THERE ARE TOO MANY THINGS HAPPENING, SO LET ME GO BACK ? A LITTLE BIT? HE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) MONTAZERI, HE CLOSED SHOP. THAT MEANS HE KNEW THAT IF HE DIDN'T, HE WOULD BE IN DEEP SHIT, BECAUSE KHOMEINI HAS ORDERED ?THE ARREST? OF THE, OF HIS GROUP WHO HAD PARTICIPATED IN ALL THE UNWANTED ACTIVITIES: THAT INCLUDES, THE ASSASSINATION OF 16 PEOPLE IN AFGHANISTAN. AND WHEN KHOMEINI SAYS "ARREST," IT MEANS EXECUTE THEM.

ORTH: O.K., I HEAR YOU, BUT I'M A LITTLE CONFUSED. THE 16 PEOPLE WHO WERE EXECUTED... WERE KILLED, ASSASSINATED IN AFGHANISTAN

AKIM: SAYYED MEHDI HASHEMI DID IT.

ORTH: YEAH, BUT THOSE HAPPENED TO BE PRO-RUSSIAN PUPPETS OF THE SOVIETS.

AVE: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) WHAT ALI WAS DOING IS.. WHAT THEY WERE DOING IS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ((PORTION INAUDIBLE)) THE GUYS THAT THEY FOUND OUT THAT DID NOT COOPERATE AMONG THE ?SHI'AH?, THEY WOULD KNOCK OFF.

ORTH: I'M NOT SURE OF THAT. I MEAN...

RECORD: I GATHER THAT THESE ARE GUERRILLAS THAT HE HAS KILLED

AVE: YEAH...

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RECORD: MUJAHEDIN?

HAKIM: WELL, ASK HIM. THAT'S A SIMPLE ENOUGH QUESTION. ASK HIM. WELL ANYWAY, THE IMPORTANT THING IS THE PEOPLE THAT ARE BEING ARRESTED, FROM SAYYED MEHDI HASHEMI'S GROUP, ARE GOING TO BE ALL EXECUTED, HE SAYS. WHEN KHOMEINI SAYS 'ARREST THEM,' THIS IS UNDERSTOOD TO MEAN THAT THEY ARE GOING TO BE EXECUTED, AND THEY HAVE

RECORD: ((INAUDIBLE))

HAKIM: HASHEMI HAS CLOSED DOWN SHOP. HE'S ?NOT ARRESTED YET? BUT HE. PROBABLY THAT'S A DEAL THAT KHOMEINI HAS MADE. HE'S SAID, "YOU GO AHEAD AND SHUT YOURSELF IN." ((FEW WORDS MISSED.)) THAT'S MY ASSESSMENT. WOULD YOU AGREE WITH THAT, SAM? THEY WILL GO AHEAD AND EXECUTE THESE PEOPLE, BUT UH... ((PERSIANS RETURN TO THE ROOM.)) HE WENT TO BRING ME THE NEWSPAPER.

((SEVERAL EXCHANGES INAUDIBLE))

DAVE: ((APPARENTLY TRANSLATING FROM A PERSIAN NEWSPAPER.)) THE OFFICE OF THE IMAM HAS ISSUED ORDERS TO ARREST THOSE HAVE GONE ASTRAY, THAT ARE CONNECTED WITH MEHDI HASHEMI.

RECORD: DOES IT MENTION SAUDI ARABIA SPECIFICALLY?

DAVE: ((READING IN PERSIAN)) "CHARGES AGAINST THIS GROUP: MURDER BEFORE THE REVOLUTION; COOPERATION WITH SAVAK, AND THIS IS CONNECTED TO MEHDI, HASHEMI." WELL, HE'S GOING TO BE DEAD AFTER THIS ANYWAY. "KIDNAPPING AND MURDER AFTER THE REVOLUTION; HOLDING WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES ILLEGALLY; FIVE, HOLDING SECRET GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS; SIX, COUNTERFEITING GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS; SEVEN, SECRET, UNLAWFUL ACTIVITY...

NORTH: WHAT ROLE DID HE HAVE WITH THE DANA AND HIZBALLAH?

HAKIM: WE WILL ASK HIM. BUT THE 16 PEOPLE... HE STARTED TO TELL ME THIS. WAS MR. ((NAME MISSED)) WHO WAS KNOWN TO BE AN AMERICAN ((WORD MISSED)) ASKED HIM WHO WERE THE 16 PEOPLE THAT HE KILLED...

NORTH: THESE ARE PEOPLE IN AFGHANISTAN?

HAKIM: YEAH. AND HE SAYS ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))

DAVE: ((INAUDIBLE.))

NORTH: LOOK, WHY DON'T WE GO ?TAKE A BREAK?

((MUST BE PRAYER TIME. PERSIANS TRYING TO ESTABLISH DIRECTION OF MECCA. AMERICANS LEAVE.))

((END OF TAPE A5))
((BEGINNING OF TAPE A6))

DURING FIRST PART OF TAPE, PARTICIPANTS APPEAR TO BE EXAMINING A MAP. EXCHANGES ARE FOR THE MOST PART INAUDIBLE. LATER THE AMERICANS, EXCEPT FOR HAKIM, APPEAR TO HAVE LEFT THE ROOM. CAN HEAR CONVERSATION IN PERSIAN IN THE BACKGROUND BUT ISOLATED PHRASES, THE EXCHANGES ARE INAUDIBLE.

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AT ONE POINT, HOWEVER, THE PERSIANS PLACE TELEPHONE CALLS APPARENTLY TO TEHRAN, AND PARTS OF THEIR END OF THE CONVERSATION CAN BE HEARD.

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[REDACTED]

IN THE FIRST CONVERSATION, THE SPEAKER APPEARS TO BE ALI SALARI (-SHARIFABADI). IN THE COURSE OF THE CONVERSATION HE DICTATES THE TEXT OF A TELEX IN WHICH HE STATES THAT "AN ERROR WAS MADE IN THE PART NUMBER OF ITEM 56. THE NUMBER HAS TO BE SOMETHING ELSE. WE WILL TELL YOU WHAT IT IS. IN THE NEXT CONVERSATION, MEANWHILE THE NUMBER OF THE BANK ACCOUNT IS 1430-01-014-6419."

IN THE SECOND CONVERSATION, BAHRAMANI TELLS SOMEONE TO PASS THE WORD ON TO SOMEONE ELSE THAT "THERE IS VERY LITTLE TIME ON THIS MATTER OF STEP NUMBER 4; IT MUST BE CONCLUDED BY SATURDAY AT THE LATEST. TELL HIM TO GET IN TOUCH WITH THAT GIRL--HIS WIFE, WHO IS ALSO MY COUSIN--AND TELL HER ABOUT THIS ?VICTORY?. AND MY COUSIN, WHO IS HIS WIFE, SHOULD SAY THAT WE HAVE ONLY UNTIL SATURDAY AND THAT HE SHOULD TRY TO SEE TO IT THAT TWO ARE... YOU KNOW."

((END TAPE A6))

T O P S E C R E T N O F O R N

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[REDACTED]

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((TAPE A7))

((BEGINNING OF TAPE CONTAINS UNINTELLIGIBLE EXCHANGES BY U.S AND IRANIAN TEAM MEMBERS. THE QUALITY OF THE ENTIRE TAPE IS VERY POOR.))

HAKIM: THERE ARE 26 MURDER CASES

CAVE: 26 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN ON TRIAL ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

HAKIM: OPEN TRIALS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: IS THIS IN IRAN?

HAKIM: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). ONE OF THEM WAS ((NAME MISSED)) OF AFGHANISTAN, AND THE AFGHANS HAVE SENT VERY ((WORD MISSED)) MESSSAGES IN CONNECTION WITH SEYYED MEHDI HASHEMI BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE ((WORD MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) TWO NEW POINTS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THEY WERE ACCUSED OF BEING CIA'S AGENTS IN ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WAS ELABORATING THAT THERE IS NO ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: WHAT WAS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ((WORD MISSED)) AND THE DAWA TOWARD THE HIZBALLAH?

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS AFTER ASKING BAHRAMANI)) HIZBALLAH BASICALLY IS UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT. THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT, ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). NOW THERE IS WITHIN THE HIZBALLAH, THERE IS A FACTION THAT ARE THE RADICALS. AND THOSE ARE CONNECTED TO, DEFINITELY, ((SAYYED MEHDI)) HASHEMI, AND, IN FACT THEY PUBLISHED A NEWSPAPER, AN ARTICLE IN A NEWSPAPER THAT, UH, AMERICA AND ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) THEY ARE SUSPECTING THAT THE LAST TWO HOSTAGES WERE TAKEN BY THESE RADICALS. THEY CAN NOT CONFIRM IT. THEY ARE IN THE PROCESS OF QUESTIONING A NUMBER OF PEOPLE. ((PORTION MISSED.))

NORTH: YOU HAD ASKED EARLIER WHAT IT IS WE REALLY WANT. WHAT WE WANT TO DO IS WE WANT TO GET BACK ON TRACK IN A RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WE WANT TO HAVE A PROPER RELATIONSHIP, THAT IS, A COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

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[REDACTED]

NORTH: OUR CONCERNS ARE VERY GREAT: THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR; THE SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN THE REGION; ALL OF THOSE ARE WORKING AGAINST BOTH YOU AND US.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: TIME IS WORKING AGAINST YOU AND US. WE BOTH RECOGNIZE THAT THE HOSTAGES ARE THE OBSTACLE--THE MAJOR OBSTACLE--IN TERMS OF GETTING ON WITH A FORMAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THE FASTER WE CAN PUT THAT OBSTACLE OUT OF THE WAY AND START WORKING MORE QUICKLY ON THESE OTHER ISSUES, THE BETTER FOR YOU, THE BETTER FOR US.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

((PHONE RINGS. HAKIM ANSWERS AND TALKS BRIEFLY IN PERSIAN. CAN'T MAKE OUT WHAT HE SAYS.))

NORTH: THE THINGS WE DO HERE IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS ARE GOING TO BE VERY IMPORTANT. WE DON'T WANT TO DO THE WRONG THINGS. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). FOR EXAMPLE, DO YOU WANT US--THE PRESIDENT OR SHULTZ OR POINDEXTER OR MCFARLANE--TO SAY SOMETHING POSITIVE ABOUT IRAN WHEN THESE TWO HOSTAGES ARE FREED?

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THAT'S AN IMPORTANT FACTOR.

SECGRD: ANOTHER EXAMPLE IS DO YOU WANT OUR PRESIDENT TO MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT ((WORD MISSED)) A BIT EARLIER THAN, UH...

NORTH: MUCH DEPENDS ON HOW THEY ARE TO BE TURNED OVER. HOW DO YOU EXPECT THAT THEY WILL BE FREED?

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) THIS ((WORD MISSED)) IS VERY IMPORTANT, TOO. HE SAYS WHEN HE COMES TO THE POINT THAT HE CAN AT LEAST CLARIFY THAT ((PORTION MISSED))

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) ((MANY SENTENCES MISSED.))

NORTH: ((PORTION MISSED)) KNOWS 2500 TOWS? ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

HAKIM: I GOT A MESSAGE FROM HIM. ((PORTION MISSED)) AND HE GOT THE MESSAGE THAT THE TOWS ARE RECEIVED ((PORTION MISSED)) AND NOW I WANT A 1000 FOR THE HAWK PARTS AND THE ISSUE OF THE 156.

NORTH: I UNDERSTAND.

HAKIM: IN THAT MESSAGE HE SAYS HE KNOWS. AND HE ALSO KNOWS THAT THE CLOCK IS TICKING.

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[REDACTED]

NORTH: THAT'S VERY IMPORTANT.

HAKIM: HE KNOWS THAT. THAT'S WHY I WANT YOU TO GET... I TOLD HIM THAT. I WANT (HIM) TO GET ON THE DAMN PHONE AND SAY, "ITEM FOUR, TIME IS RUNNING OUT." HE DOESN'T NEED TO GO BACK. THAT'S WHY I'M HOLDING THE DISCUSSION. IN MY OPINION, IF ALI WENT BACK AND TRIED TO COORDINATE THINGS, IT WOULD BECOME A COMPLICATED ?PHASE?, AND THEY'RE NOT GOING TO MEET THE DEADLINE. THAT'S MY OPINION. YOU KNOW THEY HAVEN'T HAD A CHANCE TO TALK; THEY NEED TO TALK. I SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING: THAT HE JUST GO ON AND FINISH WITH THIS BRIEFING HERE, AND TAKE A BREAK. AND WE TALK IT OVER. THE OTHER ((PORTION MISSED.)) THE HOSTAGES, BECAUSE I'M HEARING THINGS I DON'T LIKE. I THINK THAT I'M HEARING THAT ONE HOSTAGE IS GOING TO BE RELEASED FIRST ((FEW WORDS MISSED.)) THAT'S NOT PART OF THE AGREEMENT. I DON'T LIKE ((PORTION MISSED)) I DON'T WANT THE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THE WORK THAT WE HAVE ALREADY DONE.

?CAVE?: ((INAUDIBLE))

HAKIM: I UNDERSTAND THAT. THAT'S WHY HE CANNOT GO BACK.

NORTH: I DON'T CARE WHERE HE GOES, AS LONG AS HE GETS THE HOSTAGES ((WORD MISSED)).

HAKIM: I UNDERSTAND, BUT IF ...

CAVE: WE'LL SEND HIM TO MIAMI BEACH.

HAKIM: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ALI SAYS THAT HE HAS TO GO BACK TO TEHRAN TO COORDINATE.

NORTH: WELL IF THAT'S WHAT IT TAKES, THEN HE GOES BACK TO TEHRAN. THE IMPORTANT THING IS, AT THIS POINT, THAT I CAN GO BACK TO WHERE I HAVE TO GO AND ASSURE MY BOSS THAT THE PLAN HE APPROVED IS INDEED BEING CARRIED OUT--THAT THERE IS CONFIDENCE THAT BOTH SIDES ARE INDEED FULFILLING WHAT THEY SAID THEY'D DO. OUR SIDE UNDERSTOOD THAT WE'VE GOT THE MAPS, WE'VE GOT INTELLIGENCE, WE'VE GOT ALL THIS OTHER SHIT, AND IF I GO BACK AND TELL THEM THIS PIECE OF PAPER IS NO GOOD ((AND)) WE TEAR IT UP, I TAKE A LONG WALK.

HAKIM: I UNDERSTAND THAT, BUT I AM CONCERNED THAT BEFORE WE PASS THIS ON TO HIM, I'D LIKE TO SIT DOWN AND ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

SECORD: DO YOU THINK WE CAN TAKE A BREAK, THEN?

HAKIM: I NEED 15 OR 20 MINUTES TO TALK ABOUT THIS WITH HIM BEFORE ?WE? PASS THIS ON.

NORTH: I DON'T SEE WHY ... BUT WHY?

HAKIM: ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

NORTH: WELL I JUST WANT TO FIND OUT WHAT THE HELL'S GOING ON

HAKIM: WHAT IS GOING ON IS THAT IF WE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)), THE MAN WHO ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THE ISSUE OF THE HOSTAGES. I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT ANY OTHER ISSUE, I'M TALKING ABOUT THE HOSTAGES. NOW IF WE DERAILED, ALI WOULD BE KEPT RESPONSIBLE--IF WE DERAILED IT. THEN LATER ON ... HE SAID IF WE AGREE THAT ALI GOES BACK AND COORDINATES,

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

THIS IS A NEW AGREEMENT. DO YOU FOLLOW ME?

NORTH: NO.

HAKIM: I GOT PAID AND I GOT DEMANDS, OK, AND ?WORRIED? THAT WE ARE GOING TO GET OUR HOSTAGES FOUR DAYS AFTER THEY GET THE ?MISSILES?

NORTH: RIGHT.

HAKIM: THAT IS AN AGREEMENT--FINISHED. WHAT IN THE HELL DOES IT MEAN TO COORDINATE? I WANT TO SIT DOWN AND TALK ABOUT THIS. TO ME THIS IS A NEW GAME WHICH I DO NOT LIKE THE SMELL OF IT. EVERYTHING HAS BEEN COORDINATED. I WAS TOLD EVERYTHING WAS COORDINATED. WHAT DOES THIS MEAN? I'D LIKE TO TOSS THIS THING AROUND BEFORE WE ((TWO WORDS MISSED)) WITH HIM.

CAVE: I THINK THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT WE'VE GOT TO HAVE TWO HOSTAGES BY SUNDAY.

NORTH: YEAH. I DON'T SAY, IF THEY'RE NOT OUT BY SUNDAY, I DON'T CARE LET ME JUST MAKE THIS ONE POINT, YOU KNOW, ONE OF THE TWO OF YOU ?TRY AND COMMENT? IF WE DON'T HAVE TWO HOSTAGES BY SUNDAY, ON MONDAY MORNING SOMEONE IS GOING TO FOLLOW UP ON ONE OF THESE OTHER CONTACTS. AND NEVER AGAIN WILL THIS GROUP OF PEOPLE BE GATHERED TOGETHER. IT WILL BE OVER. THAT POINT HAS GOT TO BE MADE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) THERE IS NO PROBLEM.

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) ((PORTION MISSED)) I WAS SMART ENOUGH THAT I DIDN'T THINK THAT IT CAN HAPPEN ON WEDNESDAY. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) AND ANY TIME BETWEEN WEDNESDAY AND THE 13TH OF NOVEMBER ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

SECORD: I'M NOT GOING TO ACCEPT THAT ANY OF THIS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) WE DELIVERED THESE THINGS AS QUICKLY AS WE COULD AT HIS REQUEST.

HAKIM: I UNDERSTAND. HE SAID IF HE KNEW ((FEW WORDS MISSED)), HE WOULD NOT HAVE COME TO THIS MEETING; HE WOULD HAVE STAYED HOME TO COORDINATE. AND THEN I HAVE SPENT ?3 DAYS? ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) AND WE WERE IN TOUCH WITH HIM; I SAW NO PROBLEM WITH ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). AND NOW HE TELLS ME THAT THERE IS NO PROBLEM ((FEW WORDS MISSED.)) THE POWER STRUGGLE; ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) A QUESTION OF GETTING CREDIT FOR IT; I DON'T KNOW. THERE IS SOMETHING HERE THAT IS NOT JIBING, AND I WANT TO UNDERSTAND IT. AND FOR THAT, I NEED TO TALK ABOUT IT.

CAVE: ((INAUDIBLE))

BAHRAMANI: ((INAUDIBLE))

HAKIM: THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING. IF YOU DON'T MIND, GENTLEMEN, SAM COULD TRANSLATE. I'LL TRY TO GET ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) AND LET

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

THESE TWO GUYS TALK. HE SENDS A MESSAGE TO LONDON, I DON'T LIKE THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING?.

NORTH: WELL, LET'S JUST FIND OUT WHAT HE'S GOT IN MIND?.

CAVE: WELL, HE SAYS THERE'S NO PROBLEM, THAT THEY'RE GOING TO BE RELEASED BY SUNDAY.

HAKIM: OKAY. ARE YOU SATISFIED?

NORTH: NO. I WON'T BE SATISFIED UNTIL SUNDAY MORNING.

HAKIM: ((INAUDIBLE))

NORTH: WELL, WE'RE NOT MAKING ALL THE RULES IN THIS BALL GAME.

HAKIM: I KNOW. BUT WHEN THESE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)), WE HAVE A POLITICAL BATTLE HERE, WE HAVE AN OPERATIONAL BATTLE?. IF WE HEAR FROM BOTH OF THEM--AND WE KNOW THEM BOTH--IF WE HEAR FROM BOTH OF THEM THAT THEY HAVE COORDINATED THIS THING, THEN I WOULD FEEL MUCH BETTER ABOUT ((TWO WORDS MISSED.)) BUT WHEN HE ((WORD MISSED)) THERE, AND I HAVE NO ACCESS TO ANYONE, ((FEW WORDS)) NO CALLS, NO ((WORD MISSED)), WE DON'T KNOW WHAT'S GOING ON, AND EVERYBODY WILL ((FEW WORDS MISSED.)) I'M NOT GOING TO LET GO UNTIL I KNOW WHAT'S GOING ON. THEY DISAPPEAR WHEN THEY GO BACK?.

NORTH: WELL, I THINK A CALL CAN WAIT AN HOUR OR TWO HOURS--WHATEVER--BUT THEN I THINK IT WOULD BE GOOD TO LET THEM FINISH WHAT THEY ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) WERE ABOUT TO SAY.

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) I'VE GIVEN YOU A LOT OF INFORMATION; IT MAY HAVE SOUNDED LIKE STORIES, BUT THAT WAS ((PORTION MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WANTS TO GET INTO THE SECOND SUBJECT WHICH IS THE ISSUE OF SPEED AND EFFICIENCY. HE HOPES THAT THE RELEASE OF THE TWO HOSTAGES IS GOING TO BE FASTER, AND HE WANTS TO RAISE A FEW ISSUES ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) SOME OF THE AMERICANS HAVE RAISED SOME SERIOUS OBJECTIONS THAT WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) AND DISCUSS IT IN THE AFTERNOON?.

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) BACK IN TEHRAN, HE JUST ... HE'S SAYING HE'S PASSING ON WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY THERE. THEY CONSIDER ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) POINTS AS THE OFFICIAL POSITION OF THE U.S. THE NINE POINTS HE REFERRED TO AS THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). AND EXAMINING THE SEVEN POINTS, THEY COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE U.S. IS VERY CAREFUL, AND HERE, HE REFERRED TO ((WORD MISSED)) EARLIER IN TAKING THE STEPS TOWARDS NORMALIZING RELATIONSHIPS. AND HE HAS DEFENDED OUR POSITION BY PASSING ON TO THEM THE POSITION OF THE U.S. THROUGH THE WORDS OF GENERAL SECORD, WHICH WERE THAT THE BOTTOM LINE IS THAT WE WENT THROUGH A YEAR OF SONG AND DANCE WITH YOU?, AND YOU RELEASED TWO PRIESTS FOR US AND THEN YOU TURN AROUND AND GRAB SOME OTHER GUYS. THAT'S THE BOTTOM LINE. HE SAYS, "I HAVE PASSED THIS ON."

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) AS SOMEONE WHO'S INTERESTED IN SEEING THESE THINGS TAKE PLACE, I'D LIKE TO TELL YOU THAT THERE ARE THREE STEPS, SEPARATE FROM THE STEPS THAT WE ALREADY DISCUSSED. ?((THEY))? WILL SOLVE MANY OF THE PROBLEMS.

((THE REMAINDER OF TAPE A7 IS UNINTELLIGIBLE. ONLY A FEW WORDS COULD BE HEARD--WORDS LIKE: SPARE PARTS, SEVENTY, HASHEMI-RAFSANJANI, AND 1500 TONS.))

((END TAPE A7))

((BEGINNING TAPE A8))

((ENTIRE TAPE POOR QUALITY. BEGINNING FEW EXCHANGES COMPLETELY UNINTELLIGIBLE. INTELLIGIBLE PORTION BEGINS WITH THE FOLLOWING:))

SECCRD: THEY HAVE A LIST OF SPARE PARTS FROM THE AIR FORCE, BUT I DON'T TRUST THE AIR FORCE, BECAUSE WE WERE JUST STARTING TO TRAIN THE HOMAFARS IN THIS FIELD, AND NONE OF THEM WERE IN... THEY WERE NOT STAYING LONG?. YOU KNOW, THEY WERE NOT REAL PROFICIENT. NONE OF THEM.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

SECCRD: I SUSPECT... MY GUESS IS THAT YOU HAVE BIG PROBLEMS IN THE FIRE CONTROL SYSTEM--THE ((WORD MISSED)) AND-9 FIRE CONTROL SYSTEM.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

SECCRD: AND IN THE COURSE OF... UNDOUBTEDLY, THERE ARE PROBLEMS WITHIN THE MISSILES THEMSELVES, BECAUSE THEY ARE ((FEW WORDS MISSED.)) I HAVE NOT SEEN THE LIST OF SPARE PARTS YOU TALK ABOUT, BUT I WOULD NOT... I DON'T IMAGINE IT'S A VERY GOOD LIST. I WOULD NOT BE INCLINED TO SAY THAT IT'S A VALID LIST UNTIL EXPERT TECHNICIANS LOOK AT IT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

BAHRAMANI: ((MISSED))

SECCRD: I ALSO BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE A LOT OF SPARE PARTS IN THE DEPOT AT ISFAHAN AND IN DOSHANTAPEH. ((SENTENCE MISSED)) BUT ANYWAY, BETWEEN THESE TWO SITES, THESE TWO DEPOTS, I AM CERTAIN THAT THERE ARE MANY MANY SPARE PARTS WHICH THEY CAN NOT IDENTIFY BECAUSE ?THEY'RE AN AUTOMATED? LOGISTICS SYSTEM. ((WORD MISSED.))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

SECCRD: AND THEN FINALLY I WOULD SAY THAT IF YOU HAD 70 MISSILES, GOOD TECHNICIANS COULD CANNIBALIZE AND MAKE OPERATIONAL SOME MISSILES VERY QUICKLY--IF YOU HAD GOOD TECHNICIANS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

((PERIOD IN WHICH SEVERAL PEOPLE ARE TALKING AT ONCE.))

SECCRD: WHAT I'M TRYING TO SAY TO ALI IS THAT THIS IS NOT A SIMPLE PROBLEM

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THAT CAN BE FIXED OVER NIGHT. IT'S GOING TO TAKE A LITTLE BIT OF TIME. AND THE WHITE HOUSE IS GOING TO HAVE TO AUTHORIZE US TO SEND IN SOME TECHNICIANS, AND WE'VE GOT TO GO THROUGH THESE STEPS BEFORE WE DO IT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

SECCRD: ((PORTION MISSED)) THE TECH SUPPORT--THE HAWKS THEY'RE TALKING ABOUT. YOU KNOW, I'M SURE THE PRESIDENT WOULD AUTHORIZE US TO WORK WITH THEM ON IT? IF WE GOT OUR THREE PEOPLE. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) OUR THREE PEOPLE.

NORTH: YEAH, THAT'S EXACTLY THE PROBLEM.

SECCRD: TO PUT IT ANOTHER WAY, ALI, YOU GIVE ME THE THREE PEOPLE TOMORROW, AND BY NEXT WEEK WE'LL PROBABLY HAVE SOME PEOPLE IDENTIFIED.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)). ((THEN SPEAKS A FEW SENTENCES IN ENGLISH WHICH CAN NOT BE HEARD.))

SECCRD: ?HE IS? SAYING THE SAME THING I JUST SAID. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) WHICH IS I THINK THE PRESIDENT WILL AUTHORIZE US WE DO SOME TECHNICAL WORK--WE'VE ALWAYS TALKED ABOUT THIS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) IF WE GET OUR THREE PEOPLE BACK THAT'S WHY I SAID, "GIVE ME THE THREE PEOPLE TOMORROW, AND I'LL BET YOU HE'LL SAY THAT THEY'RE GOING TO GET SOME TECHNICIANS ?IN ABOUT A WEEK?.

NORTH: THE BIG PROBLEM I'VE GOT IS THE WHOLE DAMN ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) I MEAN, IF WE'RE REALLY SINCERE ABOUT THIS WHOLE FRIGGIN THING, WHAT WE OUGHT TO BE DOING IS, THEY OUGHT TO BE EXERCIZING EVERY POSSIBLE AMOUNT OF LEVERAGE THEY'VE GOT TO GET THOSE PEOPLE OUT, AND WE AGREE THAT AS SOON AS THEY'RE OUT, WE CAN DO ALL KINDS OF GOOD THINGS, BECAUSE THAT'S WHERE WE'RE ?HEADED?. WE ?WANT? A FRIGGIN FMS CONTACT ((WORD MISSED)) OUT THERE. WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO IS TO POSE ((WORD MISSED)) AND ALL THIS SECRET SHIT, AND GET ON WITH THE REAL RELATIONSHIP.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

NORTH: YOU KNOW, WHEN WE WERE IN TEHRAN, YOU KNOW, FOULED UP THOUGH IT MAY HAVE BEEN, IF YOU LOOK AT THE DOCUMENT THAT I WROTE AND MCFARLANE WAS PREPARED TO SIGN, YOU WILL SEE THAT THAT'S WHAT WE WERE TALKING ABOUT WAY BACK THEN, WAY BACK IN MAY. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BEYOND THE HOSTAGES, WE CAN GET ON WITH A FORMAL RELATIONSHIP.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

NORTH: EVERYTHING WE HAVE DONE SINCE THE VERY FIRST CONTACT, WHETHER IT BE STEP BY STEP OR WHETHER IT BE ALL AT ONCE, THAT'S WHERE WE'VE BEEN TRYING TO GO.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

NORTH: YOU GUYS DON'T TRUST US, AND WE DON'T TRUST YOU, AND SO WE END UP DOING IT A LITTLE BIT AT A TIME...

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

SAVE: ((IN PERSIAN TO BAHRAMANI. UNINTELLIGIBLE.))

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BAHRAMANI: ((UNINTELLIGIBLE.))

((SEVERAL PEOPLE TALKING AT ONCE.))

SECCRD: ALI, YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT THE LONG FOCAL ((FEW WORDS MISSED)), THAT'S NOT WHAT'S HE'S TALKING ABOUT.

NORTH: YOU SEE, YOU DON'T KNOW UNTIL YOU ACTUALLY GO OUT THERE AND ?TRY?
((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

SECCRD: IS HE TALKING ABOUT THE INTEGRAL SYSTEM--THE SYSTEM IN THE NOSE OF THE AIRPLANE?

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

((SEVERAL EXCHANGES MISSED))

NORTH: WE CAN GO JUMP THROUGH OUR ASS AND GET YOU A ?CANNON? THAT WILL COST A MILLION DOLLARS, OR WHATEVER, AND IT WILL TURN OUT TO BE THE WRONG THING. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: HE IS NOT NEGOTIATING..

NORTH: I UNDERSTAND THAT.

HAKIM: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) HE'S SAYING THE SAME WAY THAT YOU ARE TELLING ME, WHAT ARE THE THINGS THAT WOULD OPEN THE WAY FOR YOU IN THE UNITED STATES, I AM PASSING ON TO YOU THE WAY THAT WOULD OPEN THE WAY FOR ME AND FOR MY UNCLE

((BRIEF EXCHANGE MISSED))

HAKIM: ((UNINTELLIGIBLE))

NORTH: YOU KNOW, WHEN WE GO AND DO SOMETHING LIKE THAT, THERE ISN'T GOING TO BE A ((WORD MISSED.)) I KNEW EXACTLY WHAT THE THREE THINGS YOU WERE GOING TO TALK ABOUT WERE. YOU KNOW WHY? BECAUSE ANOTHER EMISSARY FROM IRAN HAS ALREADY TOLD OUR GOVERNMENT THAT. THAT'S EXACTLY THE THREE THINGS THAT WERE RAISED WITH US TWO WEEKS AGO.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

NORTH: WE'RE SO CLOSE TO HAVING DONE THE RIGHT THING--YOU AND I AND AYUB AND THE MEN IN THIS ROOM, AND YET WE'RE GOING TO FOUL IT UP; I CAN SEE IT COMING.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

NORTH: WE HAVE KNOWN FOR OVER A YEAR THAT YOU NEED TECHNICAL HELP, AND WE HAVE OFFERED CONSTANTLY TO SEND IT. GO BACK AND READ THE DOCUMENT THAT I WROTE IN TEHRAN IN MAY.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

NORTH: AND I GAVE IT TO GOOD OLD ((ONE WORD MISSED)) NAJAFI OR HADI, OR WHATEVER THE HELL HIS NAME IS, I GAVE IT TO HIM

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CAVE: ((UNINTELLIGIBLE))

NORTH: WHEN WE WERE IN TEHRAN, ALL MCFARLANE SAID WAS, "LOOK. WE DON'T WANT YOU GUYS TO LOSE THE WAR; WE WANT AN HONORABLE SETTLEMENT. AND ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS USE YOUR INFLUENCE TO GET THOSE HOSTAGES OUT, AND WE'RE GOING TO DO ALL KINDS OF THINGS FOR YOU." IN FACT, HE SAID, "DON'T LIMIT YOURSELF TO JUST THIS. THERE IS MUCH, MUCH MORE THAT COULD BE DONE. THE HOSTAGES HAVE TO GET BEHIND US."

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT... HE HAS SAID IT BEFORE, HE SAID, "AFTER THINGS BROKE UP IN IRAN, AND YOU ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) TO SEND THE STUFF, THAT INDICATED TO THE IRANIANS THAT THE AMERICANS HAVE ((FEW WORDS MISSED))."

NORTH: HOW THE HELL DO WE GET FROM WHERE WE ARE TODAY TO WHERE WE'VE GOT TO GO?

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS A COUNTRY LIKE THE UNITED STATES--A SUPERPOWER--((PORTION MISSED)). THEN I SAID, "AN IMAM LIKE KHOMEINI--THE FIRST SHIAH IMAM--THE FIRST GOVERNOR? OF SHI'ITES IN THE WORLD--HE DOESN'T HAVE THE POWER OF GOING TO LEBANON AND TELLING THOSE ASSHOLES TO RELEASE THE THREE HOSTAGES? SUCH A GREAT RELIGIOUS POWER? NO. HE DOESN'T ((FEW WORDS MISSED.)) I SAID, "WELL, OUR PRESIDENT DOESN'T ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))" I'M TRYING TO MAKE THE POINT THAT IT'S THE WRONG ATTITUDE TO SIT BACK AND SAY THE UNITED STATES IS A SUPERPOWER, AND YOU FORGET THAT THEY ARE ALSO A SUPER RELIGIOUS COUNTRY. IT'S VERY EQUAL.

NORTH: WELL, ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THE INFLUENCE THAT THE IMAM HAS OVER THOSE WHO HOLD THE HOSTAGES IS ((WORD MISSED.))

HAKIM: OF COURSE. HE CAN GET THOSE PEOPLE BACK WITH ONE WORD, ONE WORD. I AM CONVINCED. IT'S ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

HAKIM: ARE YOU GOING TO STICK TO THE PAPER THAT YOU GAVE THEM IN MAY, IF YOU GET THE HOSTAGES BACK?

NORTH: SURE. AND YOU KNOW THE ((WORD MISSED)) PAPER ALSO TALKS ABOUT "ALL OF THE HOSTAGES," ALL THE HOSTAGES, ALL TERRORISM STOPS.

HAKIM: I UNDERSTAND. BUT YOU ARE PREPARED TO STICK TO YOUR PAPER OF MAY?

NORTH: OF COURSE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

HAKIM: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) COPY IN THE FILE?

NORTH: YEAH. AND THERE IS STILL A COPY THERE IN TEHRAN

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[REDACTED]

HAKIM: ((MISSED))

BAHRAMANI:

((SEVERAL EXCHANGES MISSED))

NORTH: IT WAS NOT JUST GIVING YOU A PIECE OF PAPER; WE HAVE ALREADY STARTED.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) WE'VE TAKEN ACTION.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

HAKIM: ((PORTION IN ENGLISH UNINTELLIGIBLE)) NINE DAYS ((FEW WORDS MISSED))
IF THESE PEOPLE HAVE GIVEN YOU THIS LIST OF THE 17 GUYS, YOU CAN
BET YOUR ASS THAT THEY HAVE STUDIED IT AND EXAMINED IT AND THEY
ARE TAKING STEPS.

NORTH: I HAVE ALREADY MET WITH THE KUWAITI PRIME MINISTER, SECRETLY.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

NORTH: IN MY SPARE TIME BETWEEN ((FEW WORDS MISSED.)) ((LAUGHS))

SECORD: WE HAVE ALSO GOTTEN A SPECIAL REPORT SAYING THAT..

CAVE: FROM THE PRESIDENT...

SECORD: AND SOME INTERESTING INFORMATION...

((CAVE AND BAHRAMANI CONVERSE IN PERSIAN. UNINTELLIGIBLE.))

CAVE: ((SAYS SOMETHING IN ENGLISH. UNINTELLIGIBLE.))

NORTH: WELL, OF COURSE THEY DO. I TOLD YOU THIS A YEAR AGO.
LOOK, LET ME TELL YOU SOMETHING. THE PROBLEM--JUST SO WE ALL
UNDERSTAND IT--IS IF A VISIBLE EFFORT IS MADE BY THE UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT WHEN THERE'S A LONG LIST OF HOSTAGES BEING HELD IN
LEBANON, THIS PRESIDENT IS GOING TO GET STONED BY MAGGIE THATCHER
AND THE FRIGGIN FRENCH, YOU KNOW. IT JUST AIN'T GOING TO HAPPEN THAT
THIS EFFORT IS GOING TO BE VISIBLE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: HE SAYS YOU GUYS DON'T KNOW WHAT YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT. HE SAYS, "THE
ENGLISH JUST TOLD US THAT SOME RADARS AND THEIR TECHNICIANS ARE IN
TEHRAN NOW, WORKING."

NORTH: I KNOW. BUT IT WASN'T DONE WITH THE AUTHORITY OF THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

BAHRAMANI:

((SEVERAL PERSONS TALKING AT ONCE. UNINTELLIGIBLE))

NORTH: BUT THEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS NOT AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT.
THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DID NOT [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

CAVE: ((UNINTELLIGIBLE))

HAKIM: ((IN PERSIAN TO BAHRAMANI. UNINTELLIGIBLE)).

((SEVERAL MINUTES OF QUIET CONVERSATION BETWEEN CAVE AND NORTH IN ENGLISH AND HAKIM AND BAHRAMANI IN PERSIAN))

CAVE: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE SYRIANS BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN MAKING SOME PROGRESS WITH THE SYRIANS ON THE BRITISH HOSTAGES.

NORTH: WELL THERE'S ONLY ONE BRITISH HOSTAGE.

CAVE: ((UNINTELLIGIBLE))

NORTH: WELL ONE'S AN IRISHMAN.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: HE SAYS THEY GOT INFORMATION ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BRITISH PASSPORT.

NORTH: ?MCCARTHY?, AND HE WAS SUPPOSEDLY KILLED ... ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

CAVE: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) HE SAYS THAT THEY GOT BRITISH PASSPORTS AND THEN THEY WEREN'T SURPRISED THAT WE WITHDREW OUR AMBASSADOR AND THEY WERE GLAD THAT WE DID NOT BREAK OFF RELATIONS WITH SYRIA. HE SAYS THAT ((REST OF SENTENCE MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((PORTION MISSED)) IF IRAQ ... IF IRAN WANTS TO ((WORD MISSED)) THE THE IRAQ-IRAN WAR, THEY ?ARE? BETTER ADVISED ?TO DO IT BY? THE BRITISH--HER MAJESTY'S--GOVERNMENT THAN THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT BECAUSE THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAS LITTLE OR NO INFLUENCE IN BAGHDAD, AND THEY DO. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

SECCRD: ?LET'S SEE IF? THE BRITS WILL GET RID OF SADDAM HUSAYN.

CAVE: ((UNINTELLIGIBLE))

BAHRAMANI:

((END OF TAPE AB))

((BEGINNING OF TAPE A9))

((TAPE VERY POOR QUALITY))

((BEGINNING PORTION MISSED))

CAVE: THEY'RE VERY WORRIED ABOUT THIS BECAUSE THEY HAVE NO INFORMATION.

NORTH: THE BRITISH AREN'T GOING TO INVADE; THE RUSSIANS ARE [REDACTED]

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BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS, THEN CONVERSES WITH BAHRAMANI IN PERSIAN.
UNINTELLIGIBLE))

NORTH: WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES IT MAKE. WHAT CAN THEY DO? I MEAN THEY'RE
IRRELEVANT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS UNINTELLIGIBLE.))

NORTH: AND THE BRITISH WILL KNOW IF WE SEND TECHNICIANS IN--TECHNICAL
EXPERTS. THEY'LL BECOME AWARE OF IT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI, MAKES ADDITIONAL COMMENTS TO BAHRAMANI,
AND EXPLAINS TO NORTH WHAT HE HAS TOLD BAHRAMANI, ONLY SNATCHES
OF WHICH WERE INTELLIGIBLE.))

NORTH: WHEN MCFARLANE WAS IN ((WORD MISSED)), MY FRIEND SAMI'I--AYUB--
WAS THERE. MCFARLANE KEPT SAYING THINGS LIKE, "LOOK. PUT THIS
BEHIND YOU. DON'T LIMIT YOURSELF TO THESE SMALL LITTLE THINGS.
THINK BIG. THINK BEYOND THE HOSTAGES. THINK ECONOMICALLY. THINK
OF ALL KINDS OF WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN HELP YOU, NOT JUST SENDING
IN PHOENIX MISSILES. AND THAT'S THE IMPORTANT THING TO DO. BUT
WE CAN'T THINK BIG WHEN WE'VE GOT THAT STARING AT US.

BAHRAMANI:

((CHATTER ABOUT SOMEONE NEEDING AN ASPIRIN))

SECORD: TELL HIM THAT IF HE JUST GOES OUT TOMORROW OR THE NEXT DAY AND
GRABS THOSE THREE GUYS OUT OF LEBANON. WE'LL GO BACK IN AND
REBUILD HIS GODDAMN AIR FORCE. I BUILT IT ONCE, I'LL GO BACK IN
AND BUILD IT AGAIN. THAT WAS MY BABY; I BUILT THAT AIR FORCE--
FOUR AND A HALF YEARS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

SECORD: YOU SEE THAT TAKES THE HEAT OFF THE PRESIDENT. WE CAN GO OUT
HERE AND RECRUIT PEOPLE AND SAM CAN HELP US FIND SOME PEOPLE--
PEOPLE WHO HAVE RETIRED FROM THE MILITARY. PEOPLE WHO ?ARE? IN
INDUSTRY.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

SECORD: WE'LL SAY THEY'RE SWISS OR SOMETHING, YOU KNOW, AND IT'S NOT A
PROBLEM. BUT IT TAKES TIME.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

((UNINTELLIGIBLE CHATTER.))

SECORD: I GUARANTEE HIM THAT IF HE LETS US SEND A COUPLE OF LOGISTICS
EXPERTS INTO THEIR DEPOT, WE'LL FIND A BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF
STUFF THEY DON'T KNOW THEY'VE GOT--IN TWO WEEKS.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI))

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SECCRD: HE HAD AN IRANIAN AIR FORCE WITH THE MOST WELL-SUPPLIED AIR FORCE THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN. ((PORTION MISSED))

NORTH: HOW ARE YOU GOING TO FIX KHARG ISLAND?

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

NORTH: HOW ARE YOU GOING TO PROVIDE HOUSES?

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: HE SAYS THAT'S NOT AN ISSUE. THEY ((COUPLE OF WORDS MISSED)) PRODUCE MORE THAN TWO MILLION BARRELS A DAY. HE SAYS THE EXPERTS KNOW THAT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: BUT THAT'S BECAUSE THERE HASN'T BEEN ANY NEW EXPLORATION ?SINCE THE? WAR STARTED.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: EVEN THE SHAH COULD NOT PRODUCE MORE THAN FOUR MILLION ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: ((UNINTELLIGIBLE))

SECCRD: THE POINT IS THAT--AS I'VE BEEN TELLING THESE GUYS FOR OVER A YEAR NOW--A FEW WELL-PLACED TECHNICAL EXPERTS, IN WHATEVER FIELD ?THEY'RE TALKING ABOUT? THEY'LL BE WORTH MORE MONEY THAN THEY COULD EVER SPEND. ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

NORTH: THERE IS AN IMPORTANT POINT ON THE TECHNICAL ((WORD MISSED)), AND THAT IS: THAT ISSUE--IT'S JUST LIKE THE MCFARLANE THING-- THAT WILL BECOME PUBLIC.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

NORTH: WE WANT TO MAKE SURE THAT WE CAN DO IT RIGHT, AND THAT IT'S NOT GOING TO COST ANYTHING ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). BUT BECAUSE OF THE RISK OF THAT BECOMING PUBLIC, WE CAN'T DO THAT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

NORTH: IT'S TIME FOR YOU GUYS TO TAKE A CHANCE.

((SEVERAL EXCHANGES UNINTELLIGIBLE.))

SECCRD: WE HAVE THE GUY THAT... I'VE ALREADY RECRUITED THE GUY WHO RAN THE HAWK SYSTEM IN IRAN FOR ME.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

((SEVERAL EXCHANGES UNINTELLIGIBLE. BAHRAMANI APPARENTLY LEAVES THE ROOM DURING THIS TIME.))

HAKIM: HOSSEIN IS RUNNING THE SHOW?

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[REDACTED]

NORTH: WHO THE ((EXPLETIVE)) IS HOSSEIN?

HAKIM: HIS LAST NAME IS MONAJJEMI, HE OWNS A SHIPPING COMPANY, HE'S THE ONLY GUY IN TOWN--IN TEHRAN--WHO CAN STILL PROVIDE WOMEN, WINE, AND DANCING AND OPIUM, HE PROVIDES MONEY ...

CAVE: ((UNINTELLIGIBLE.))

HAKIM: HE'S THERE NOW.

SECORD: WHERE IS THE BASTARD?

HAKIM: HE'S IN TEHRAN AND HE'S GOING TO BEIJING. ((SENTENCE MISSED.)) AND HE'S AFRAID THAT HE'S BEING TAKEN OUT OF THE DEAL AND ((WORDS MISSED)).

SECORD: ALI TOLD ME WHILE YOU WERE OUT OF THE ROOM THAT HE WAS GOING TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE THREE HOSTAGES ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BUT WE DON'T KNOW HOW.

NORTH: I DON'T CARE HOW RIGHT NOW.

SECORD: I DON'T CARE HOW EITHER, EXCEPT I HAVE SOME DOUBT THAT HE WILL.

HAKIM: HE CAN DO IT. I KNOW THAT.

NORTH: WELL, YOU KNOW, YOU SAID IT YOURSELF. THE ONLY THING THAT WAS NECESSARY IS FOR THE IMAM TO MAKE VERY CLEAR TO PEOPLE...

HAKIM: AND HIS SITUATION IS RIGHT FOR THEM TO DO IT.

CAVE: ((UNINTELLIGIBLE)) AYUB HAS TO GET ((FEW WORDS MISSED.)) HE CAN'T DO IT FROM HERE.

HAKIM: ?DID HE SAY? AYUB WAS STAYING HERE?

SECORD: NO. AYUB WAS SENT TO PORTUGAL.

CAVE: HOW'S HE GOING TO DO IT FROM PORTUGAL? HOW'S HE GOING TO THOSE GUYS RELEASED ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))

((A NUMBER OF EXCHANGES MISSED)) ((CHATTER ABOUT GOING SOMEWHERE TO EAT.))

SECORD: I DON'T UNDERSTAND WHY IT'S NOT EASIER FOR THEM TO GRAB ALL THREE IN ONE STROKE.

NORTH: I DON'T EITHER.

HAKIM: BECAUSE, I THINK... YOU WANT AN ANSWER? BECAUSE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THEY'RE NOT GOING TO USE KHOMEINI. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BUT THEY DON'T WANT TO USE THEIR BIG GUNS.

((SEVERAL EXCHANGES MISSED.))

HAKIM: THEY DON'T KNOW WHERE THEY ARE.

CAVE: THEY KNOW WHERE THEY ARE.

HAKIM: NO. THEY KNOW WHO HAS THEM.

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[REDACTED]

CAVE: THEY KNOW WHERE THEY ARE, TOO. YOU THINK AYUB'S BOYS DON'T KNOW WHERE THEY ARE?

NORTH: THAT'S A CROCK OF CRAP; THEY KNOW EXACTLY WHERE THEY ARE.

HAKIM: THAT'S ONE POINT THEY OFFERED TO ?GIVE?

NORTH: WELL, I'LL TAKE THAT ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

SECGRD: GIVE US TWO AND THE LOCATION OF THE THIRD ONE.

NORTH: NO, GIVE US THREE AND THE LOCATION OF THE OTHER THREE.
NO, THERE ARE SIX AMERICANS MISSING, ?GUYS?. SIX.

SECGRD: YOU YOURSELF KNOW THAT THE PALESTINIANS ARE INVOLVED IN SOME OF THE ((WORD MISSED.))

NORTH: I THINK THAT THE LIBYANS ARE PROBABLY INVOLVED IN THE LAST THREE, BUT I DON'T KNOW ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))

SECGRD: SO THEY MAY WELL BE TELLING THE TRUTH WHEN THEY SAY THAT THEY DON'T KNOW WHERE THEY ARE.

CAVE: THAT ONE GUY WAS AS NUTTY AS A FRUIT CAKE.

NORTH: I GRANT YOU THAT. ANYBODY WOULD ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))
((FEW EXCHANGES MISSED.))

NORTH: DO YOU THINK THAT THERE'S A ?CONTRACT? ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))

SECGRD: BUT THE IRANIANS MAY NOT BE CULPABLE.

NORTH: NO, BUT THEY CAN TELL US WHERE THEY ARE. THEIR INTELLIGENCE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) IS MUCH BETTER THAN OURS.

SECGRD: THEY MAY NOT KNOW WHERE THEY ARE.

NORTH: THEN THEY CAN FIND THEM.

SECGRD: I DON'T KNOW IF THEY COULD OR NOT. YOU KNOW HOW CONSTRAINED THEY ARE..

CAVE: IF THEY'RE NOT CULPABLE, THEY ARE ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))
((LAUGHTER))

SECGRD: YOU KNOW WHAT IT'S LIKE. THEY'RE SO ?PROUD OF THEIR TURF? THERE, THEY MIGHT NOT KNOW.

NORTH: IF THEY GET THE RIGHT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

CAVE: ON THE 20TH OF NOVEMBER ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: HUH?

CAVE: I'M GOING TO ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

SECGRD: HE'S GOING ON VACATION---AGAIN. YOU KEEP ACTING LIKE YOU'RE RETIRED OR SOMETHING.

[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

JORTH: THE 20TH OF NOVEMBER?

SECORD: HOPE WE DON'T NEED HIM THEN?

JORTH: NO, I HOPE WE DON'T EITHER.

SECORD: WE'RE GOING TO BE NEGOTIATING ABOUT THE NEW HOSTAGES BY THEN.
((LAUGHTER))

JORTH: GOOD-BYE GUYS.

((SEVERAL EXCHANGES MISSED))

SECORD: WE MEET AGAIN TONIGHT.

((SEVERAL EXCHANGES MISSED))

SECORD: DID YOU EVER FIGURE OUT WHAT TIME YOU'RE GOING IN THE MORNING?

((FEW EXCHANGES MISSED))

JORTH: IF HE THINKS HE'S GOT TO GO BACK THERE TO MAKE IT WORK, LET HIM GO BACK THERE...

SECORD AND CAVE: ((UNINTELLIGIBLE))

JORTH: I'M REALLY SERIOUS ABOUT THAT.

?SECORD?: LET HIM GO BACK THERE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) CAN ?BACK OUT?

NORTH: HE WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE A MEETING ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

?HAKIM? NO, HE SAID. HE SAID FRIDAY.

NORTH: FRIDAY? FRIDAY? IT ?MAY NOT BE DONE? BY FRIDAY. THAT'S ONLY TWO DAYS AWAY.

HAKIM: WELL, I'M TRYING TO FIND OUT WHAT SORT OF MIRACLE IS ABOUT TO HAPPEN.

NORTH: I NEED TO KNOW AT THIS POINT, TWO THINGS. I NEED TO KNOW WHAT HE WANTS US TO SAY ABOUT....

HAKIM: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). YOU KNOW, I TOLD RICHARD A LONG TIME AGO. YOU GOT THE ??CUSTOMER?? THROUGH ME. YOU GOT THE ((WORD MISSED)) FROM ME. I WANT YOU TO BE RIGHT BACK IN THE MIDDLE. I AM OPTIMISTIC THAT THEY ARE GOING TO MEET THEIR ??DEADLINE??. I REALLY AM.

NORTH: FOR YOUR SAKE, I HOPE SO.

HAKIM: ((LAUGHS))

NSC/STATE ((EXCHANGE MISSED))

SECORD: [IS WAITE STILL CALLING?]

NORTH: [YEAH, WAITE'S BEEN CALLING A DOZEN AND A HALF TIMES. ((PHONE RINGS)) THERE HE IS AGAIN. ((LAUGHTER))]

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[REDACTED]

((HAKIM ANSWERS PHONE. TALKS IN PERSIAN BRIEFLY. TURNS THE PHONE OVER TO NORTH FOR A COUPLE OF MINUTES WHO TELLS THE PARTY ON THE OTHER END THAT HE IS DOING GOOD WORK AND THAT "WE WON'T FORGET" HOW WELL HE HAS DONE. ALSO ASKS THE PARTY IF HE HAS RECEIVED ANY MAIL FROM HIS DAUGHTER. THEN HE TURNS THE PHONE BACK TO HAKIM WHO TALKS IN PERSIAN WHILE THE AMERICANS CONVERSE AMONG THEMSELVES ABOUT GOING TO DINNER. THEN THEY ALL LEAVE THE ROOM.))

((WHEN TAPING RESUMES AGAIN, THE IRANIANS AND HAKIM ARE IN THE ROOM CONVERSING IN THE BACKGROUND IN PERSIAN. ONLY ISOLATED WORDS AND PHRASES COULD BE UNDERSTOOD. BAHRAMANI CAN BE HEARD SPEAKING ON THE PHONE, SAYING THAT SOME ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. "TOMORROW MORNING WOULD BE BETTER THAN THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW. THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW WOULD BE BETTER THAN THE NEXT DAY?. THE DEADLINE IS SUNDAY, AND ANY DAY IT COULD BE DONE WOULD BE BETTER THAN THE PREVIOUS ONE ((SIC))."

((END OF TAPE A9))

((BEGINNING OF TAPE A10))

((TAPE TEN CONSISTS ENTIRELY OF CONVERSATION AMONG THE PERSIANS IN THE BACKGROUND, AND ONLY ISOLATED WORDS AND PHRASES COULD BE UNDERSTOOD. HAKIM WAS PRESENT FOR AT LEAST PART OF THE TIME, AND MADE A PHONE CALL IN WHICH HE TALKED ABOUT ITEMS WHICH HE REFERRED TO AS 156'S.

((END OF TAPE A10))

[REDACTED]

TOP SECRET NOFORN

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[[REDACTED]]
 ((TAPE A11))

((BAHRAMANI AND ANOTHER PERSIAN, APPARENTLY ALI SALARI, CONVERSING. ONLY ISOLATED WORDS AND PHRASES CAN BE UNDERSTOOD. HAKIM IS NOT PRESENT.))

((END TAPE A11))

((TAPE A12))

((BAHRAMANI AND ANOTHER PERSIAN, ?ALI SALARI?, CONVERSING. ONLY ISOLATED PORTIONS CAN BE UNDERSTOOD. CALL MADE TO HOTEL SWITCHBOARD TO FIND OUT WHETHER A TELEX HAD BEEN RECEIVED FROM TEHRAN. ANOTHER CALL ORDERING BREAKFAST FOR ROOM 524. HAKIM ARRIVES. HAKIM MAKES A PHONE CALL, ASKS FOR A MR. SCHNEIDER. SCHNEIDER NOT AVAILABLE. HAKIM TALKS TO SOMEONE ELSE (THIS CALL IS ON THE "B" TAPES RECORDED DURING THESE MEETINGS.) LATER, PHONE RINGS AND BAHRAMANI TALKS BRIEFLY TO SOMEONE IN PERSIAN. BREAKFAST ARRIVES.))

((END TAPE A12))

((TAPE A13))

((CONTINUATION OF BREAKFAST CONVERSATION BETWEEN HAKIM, BAHRAMANI, AND ?SALARI?. TELEVISION ON. ONLY ISOLATED PORTIONS CAN BE UNDERSTOOD.))

((END TAPE A13))

((TAPE A14))

((TAPE BEGINS WITH PARTICIPANTS APPARENTLY GETTING READY FOR THEIR MEETING. SOMEONE OPENS THE WINDOW. VOICES IN THE DISTANCE, PROBABLY IN AN ADJOINING ROOM. SOUNDS LIKE THE MAID IS CLEANING UP THE ROOM. SOMEONE CHATS BRIEFLY WITH HER IN ENGLISH. BAHRAMANI AND ?SALARI? CHAT. U.S. PARTICIPANTS BEGIN TO ARRIVE. THEN:))

SECORD: TWO THINGS WE WANT TO TALK ABOUT. WE WON'T SPEND MUCH TIME BUT TWO THINGS ARE VERY IMPORTANT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: ?HE/WE? SAID THAT IRAN, THE COUNTRY, IS NOW RUN LIKE SHAREHOLDING-- DIFFERENT GROUPS SHARING POWER.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: OUR GROUP, WHICH IS THE PRESIDENT AND HIS MEN, ARE VERY CONCERNED

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[REDACTED]

AS TO WHETHER OR NOT WE ARE INDEED DEALING WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN. THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENT FACTIONS; YET THEY STILL QUESTION WHETHER WE'RE DEALING WITH THE TOP.

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

SECORD:

THIS EXERCISE THAT WE'VE RUN THROUGH THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS ABOUT GETTING THE MONEY INTO THE BANK, INTO OUR SYSTEM SO WE CAN GET THE TOWS, HAS BEEN WORSE THAN A ((WORD MISSING)). IT'S BEEN TERRIBLE AND THE IMAGE CREATED BACK IN WASHINGTON IS WHAT WORRIES ME.

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

SECORD:

JUST AS IN ANY BIG COUNTRY, THE PRESIDENT GETS INFORMATION FROM MANY OF HIS DEPARTMENTS--HIS INTELLIGENCE PEOPLE, INFORMATION PEOPLE, SENIOR ADVISORS. A NUMBER OF ADVISORS TO THE PRESIDENT THINK THAT WE'RE CRAZY--WE MUST BE CRAZY.

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

SECORD:

SO MAYBE SAM AND I AND NORTH CAN UNDERSTAND SOME OF THIS BECAUSE WE LIVE WITH IT. BUT OTHERS CANNOT. IT JUST DOES NOT MAKE SENSE; IT'S NOT LOGICAL. I WANT TO MAKE THIS PROCESS A REASONABLE, LOGICAL PROCESS.

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

((PHONE RINGS. BAHRAMANI TALKS WITH SOMEONE IN PERSIAN BRIEFLY ABOUT CLEARING UP THE PROBLEMS WITH THE ACCOUNT NUMBER.))

CAVE:

((PORTION INAUDIBLE)). THEY'VE GOT EVERYTHING MOVING. ((PORTION INAUDIBLE)).

SECORD:

I GUESS THAT'S GOOD NEWS. THIS, OF COURSE, WOULD BE ONE VERY IMPORTANT STEP IN CREATING THE KIND OF SITUATION WE WANT TO CREATE WHICH IS ONE OF MUTUAL TRUST. IF WE CANNOT DEVELOP IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS A CONDITION WHERE WASHINGTON AND TEHRAN HAVE AT LEAST SOME TRUST IN ONE ANOTHER, WE'LL FAIL.

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

SECORD:

TILL WE PREPARE TO GO FORWARD, TILL WE GET READY TO MOVE FORWARD, YOU NEED TO GET THE MONEY FROM EUROPE HERE SOME PLACE, SO YOU HAVE YOUR HANDS ON IT, SO IT CAN BE RELEASED WITHIN A DAY OF THE TIME THAT WE AGREE TO TAKE ANOTHER STEP. WE NEED TO HAVE THE MONEY ALL RIGHT HERE WITHOUT ANY STRINGS ON IT SO WE DON'T HAVE TO GO THROUGH THIS JOKE AGAIN.

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

SECORD:

NOW, WHAT WE'RE CONCERNED WITH IS NOT THE MONEY ITSELF, BUT BACK HOME IN WASHINGTON PEOPLE SAY IF YOU ARE DEALING WITH THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT, THEN THREE MILLION DOLLARS, ?FOUR MILLION?, IS NOTHING. YOU MUST NOT BE DEALING WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

SECORD:

THE NEXT POINT IS RELATED TO THIS POINT. AND THIS HAS TO DO WITH KAMAL. [REDACTED]

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CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: KAMAL IS A BIG SECURITY PROBLEM. YOU YOURSELF HAVE TOLD US THAT YOU WANT TO KEEP HIM IN ONE SMALL AREA.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: KAMAL IS A SECURITY PROBLEM OF BIG PROPORTIONS ON THE TELEPHONE. HE BELIEVES, FOR INSTANCE ON THE TELEPHONE. HE BELIEVES THAT HE HAS TO KNOW EVERYTHING. HE WAS VERY UPSET THAT WE DELIVERED THESE TOWS WITHOUT COORDINATING WITH HIM FIRST.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: KAMAL TOLD ME SOME TIME AGO THAT HE DID NOT KNOW GHORBANIFAR. HE HAD HEARD OF HIM BUT DID NOT KNOW HIM. THAT IS FALSE. [REDACTED] HE HAS MET WITH GHORBANIFAR. WE KNOW THIS TO BE TRUE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: WE DO NOT NEED ANOTHER GHORBANIFAR. WE WILL NOT ACCEPT ANOTHER GHORBANIFAR. *Incredible that Secord only inveigle against Ghorba*

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO BUSINESSMEN MAKING MONEY. THAT'S GOOD. WE DON'T CARE ABOUT THAT. IT'S NOT IMPORTANT TO US. WHAT'S IMPORTANT TO US IS SECURITY.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: NOW. I HAVE A SUGGESTION, BECAUSE WE DO NOT WISH TO CREATE PROBLEM. WE WANT TO GET OUR HOSTAGES OUT; WE DON'T WANT A LOT OF NOISE, A LOT OF TALK. SO WE'LL TALK WITH KAMAL HERE FOR THE NEXT FEW DAYS. BUT WHEN WE GET PAST THIS NEXT STEP, WE WANT TO SEE KAMAL OFF TO ONE SIDE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: I WOULD LIKE TO HEAR HIS OPINION NOW. I HAVE NOTHING MORE TO SAY ON THAT. HAS HE FINISHED WHAT HE WAS GOING TO SAY? PERHAPS WE COULD HEAR HIS OPINION.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((INAUDIBLE))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS, ON THE QUESTION OF MONEY, HE SAYS, LOOK I JUST GOT INVOLVED IN THIS A FEW MONTHS AGO. AND I DON'T KNOW ((PORTION MISSED)) ABOUT THE FINANCIAL ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

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HE SAYS, I DON'T KNOW ONE ((LARGE PORTION MISSED.)) TO TEHRAN, AI
THEY ACCEPT THAT THE FACT THAT THIS HAS BEEN A PROBLEM, AND
THEY WILL WORK IT OUT.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS WHAT THEY'VE BEEN TRYING TO DO IS TO
SET UP AN ACCOUNT WHICH WOULD BE UNDER AYUB'S CONTROL AND TO
HAVE 40 MILLION DOLLARS IN IT SO THAT WE CAN, WHEN THEY GO
?THROUGH WITH THE TRANSACTION?, WE CAN ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS ((THERE ARE)) SO MANY ((FEW WORDS MISSED))
THAT FROM THE TIME THEY START SOMETHING ((FEW WORDS MISSED))
?IT TAKES? AT LEAST 8 OR 9 WORKING DAYS TO GET THROUGH ALL THE
VARIOUS BANK ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) IN GETTING BACK TO THE BANK-E
SADERAT.

SECORD: BUT THEY GIVE AYUB MONEY, THEN THAT WILL RESOLVE ((FEW WORDS
MISSED)). IT WON'T BE A PROBLEM.

CAVE: ((MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: HE SAYS, "I WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF KAMAL.
AND I WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT THE PROBLEM OF KAMAL, NOT
ONLY KAMAL, BUT IN THE CONTEXT OF ALL THE OTHER ?IRANIANS?
THAT ARE INVOLVED IN THIS, BECAUSE ((PORTION MISSED)) A BAD
SITUATION.

SECORD: IN OTHER WORDS, HE AGREES WITH ME.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((INAUDIBLE))
((SEVERAL EXCHANGES INAUDIBLE)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) CHANGIZ HAS TOLD EVERYTHING ?HE KNOWS? TO ??KAMAL?
((PORTION MISSED)).

((QUALITY OF TAPE HAS DETERIORATED FURTHER. CAVE AND BAHRAMANI
ALMOST TOTALLY INAUDIBLE.))

CAVE: HE SAYS THAT ONE OF THE PROBLEMS THAT HE HAS WITH CHANGIZ IS THAT
((PORTION INAUDIBLE)) AND HE SAYS, "I HONESTLY DON'T KNOW HOW TO
HANDLE IT."

SECORD: I HAVE A SOLUTION FOR THAT PROBLEM.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((INAUDIBLE))

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((END OF TAPE A14))

((TAPE A15))

BAHRANAMI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS IF YOU'LD ((TWO WORDS MISSED)) FROM THE T: HE LEFT AND WENT BACK THE LAST TIME. HE SAYS HE HAD TEN CALLS FROM CHANGIZ ASKING WHERE HIS MONEY WAS.

SECORD: MY SUGGESTION IS THAT WE SIMPLY TAKE CHANGIZ OUT OF THIS LOOP. HE WORKS FOR US. WE GOT HIM ENGAGED TO START WITH BECAUSE WE NEEDED SOMEONE THAT HAD CONTACT WITH KAMAL AND, THROUGH KAMAL, WITH THIS GROUP.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS, TRYING ONLY TO SET HIM ASIDE, THAT'S NOT REALLY THE MAJOR PROBLEM. THE PROBLEM IS THAT BECAUSE OF HIS BAD FINANCIAL SITUATION, ALL OF HIS PROPERTIES IN TEHRAN WERE SEQUESTERED? ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) SOMETHING'S GOT TO BE DONE TO HELP HIM OUT FINANCIALLY, AND HE IS NO POSITION TO DO IT BECAUSE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BACK HOME.

SECORD: THAT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY. WE'LL TAKE CARE OF IT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: IN THE FUTURE WE MAY BE ABLE TO FIND SOME WORK FOR HIM ON THE SIDE. MAYBE HE CAN LOOK AT SOME OF THE PEOPLE WE SELECT AS TECHNICIANS OR HELP WITH ADMINISTRATIVE THINGS. WE WILL NOT ((WORD MISSED)) HIM ON POLITICAL ((WORD MISSED)). BUT WE CAN PUT HIM ASIDE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT YOU ARE ABSOLUTELY CORRECT WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT KAMAL BEING ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) AND BEFORE WE GOT INVOLVED WITH HIM, HE WAS INVOLVED IN THE FRENCH THING. WE DIDN'T KNOW THAT, AND YOU KNOW THAT THE FRENCH WERE VERY INTERESTED IN HIM BECAUSE OF THIS, WHICH MAY BE ALSO HOW HE GOT TO KNOW GHORBANIFAR

SECORD: POSSIBLY BECAUSE GHORBANIFAR WAS VERY CLOSE TO ((WORD MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) THEY KNOW NOTHING ABOUT HIS CONTACTS WITH GHORBANIFAR. HE HAS NEVER SAID ANYTHING TO THEM ABOUT IT. AND HE SAYS IF WE'VE GOT ANY EVIDENCE, THEY WOULD BE VERY INTERESTED IN HAVING IT BECAUSE THEY WOULD PURSUE IT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

SECORD:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

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((SEVERAL EXCHANGES MISSED))

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS ALBERT IS TRYING TO PUSH THIS TOO FAST, AN HE'S AFRAID THAT IT MIGHT BE ?DISASTROUS? ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

SECORD: WHAT IS HE TRYING TO PUSH TOO FAST, THE RELATIONSHIP OR THE HOSTAGES?

CAVE: BASICALLY THE WHOLE RELATIONSHIP. HE'S TRYING TO MAKE IT GO TOO FAST.

SECORD: BECAUSE WE HAVE PLACED ALBERT UNDER PRESSURE ON THE HOSTAGES, BECAUSE WE THINK THAT IF WE GET AT THEM QUICKLY....

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((PORTION MISSED)) HE SAYS, I CAN'T DO THIS. HE SAYS, ALBERT IS ((WORD MISSED)) THE ADVISOR, BUT I HAVE TO ((WORD MISSED)) TEHRAN, COORDINATE THIS WHOLE THING WITH THE VARIOUS GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS ((PORTION MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((UNINTELLIGIBLE))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((PORTION MISSED)) HE SAYS ALBERT IS ((WORD MISSED)), ?PROPOSING? THINGS THAT HAVEN'T BEEN DISCUSSED WITH US. AND HE SAYS HE DOESN'T ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((UNINTELLIGIBLE)).

((EXCHANGE MISSED))

((PHONE RINGS)) SECORD TELLS PARTY "WE'LL BE FINISHED IN FIVE MINUTES. JUST WAIT RIGHT WHERE YOU ARE."

SECORD: NORTH WANTS TO TALK. LET'S FINISH THIS.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((PORTION MISSED)). HE SAYS THIS THING HAS GOT TO BE DONE BY ((WORD MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS, "WELL WHY DIDN'T THEY TELL ME THIS?" AND HE SAID, "WELL, THEY CAN'T OFFICIALLY TELL YOU THESE THINGS, BUT ?I CAN BE? UNOFFICIAL ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

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SECORD: THIS IS OUR FAULT, I SUPPOSE. AND IT'S A COMMUNICATIONS PROBLEM WHICH WE MUST SOLVE OR ALBERT, OR ANYBODY ELSE, WILL NOT BE ABLE TO DO OTHER THAN MAKE PHONE CALLS.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: IF AYUB IS GOING TO BE THE EXECUTIVE IN CHARGE, AND IF WE CAN MEET WITH HIM FREQUENTLY HERE IN EUROPE, THAT WILL GO A LONG WAY TOWARDS SOLVING THE COMMUNICATIONS PROBLEM.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: AND, OF COURSE, THE SECURE COMMUNICATIONS...

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) WHAT HE'S SUGGESTING IS THAT BECAUSE THERE'S GOING TO BE AN AWFUL LOT OF TELEPHONING THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS, HE WOULD OF COURSE LIKE TO TAKE THAT THING BACK, BECAUSE THEY'VE ALREADY GOT A COUPLE OF DEDICATED TELEPHONE LINES ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THAT THEY CAN USE FOR ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) WHAT HE'S BRINGING UP IS HE SAYS THAT ANOTHER THING THAT WOULD BE GOOD ((PORTION MISSED)) CHANGING THE SITUATION, BUT HE SAID, "WHAT WE REALIZE IS AFTER TALKING TO YOU IS THAT WE NEED TECHNICIANS. WE'VE GOT TO HAVE PEOPLE ((FEW WORDS MISSED))," AND HE SAID, "I'D LIKE TO MOVE AS FAST AS POSSIBLE ON THIS" ((FEW WORD MISSED)) HE CONTACTED YOU. HE SAID, "THAT'S WHY I SUGGESTED THAT SOMETIME NEXT YEAR YOU LET A TECHNICIAN IN, IT WOULD BE GREAT.

SECORD: FINE. LET US ... WE WILL TALK TO OUR PEOPLE ABOUT THIS TODAY AND COME BACK TO THAT SUBJECT LATER TODAY.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: THE GOOD SOLUTION, OF COURSE, TO THIS PROBLEM IS FOR THE COMMUNICATIONS STATION TO BE SET UP ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: SATELLITE ... THAT'S THE REAL SOLUTION.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) OK, WHAT HE'S SAYING IS THAT "YEAH, THAT'S FINE. AND AS SOON AS WE GET THE TWO HOSTAGES OUT, WE'LL GET THE PHONE CALL?" THE PROBLEM WE'RE GOING TO HAVE WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS ...

SECORD: I UNDERSTAND THAT, I AGREE WITH THAT.

CAVE: THEY DON'T WANT ... IT'S TOO MUCH. THEY WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A SECURE WAY OF TALKING TO US.

SECORD: LET'S HE AND I WORK ON THIS PROBLEM.

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CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECCRD: NOW, ALBERT TOLD ME AT THE BEGINNING--HE TOLD ALL OF US--HE DID NOT WANT TO BE INVOLVED IN THESE POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS. HE SAID, "I'M A BUSINESSMAN, I DON'T WANT TO BE INVOLVED IN POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS." BECAUSE OF HIS LANGUAGE CAPABILITY AND BECAUSE OF HIS ASSOCIATION WITH ME--SAM CAN'T BE EVERYWHERE ALL THE TIME--WE HAVE HAD TO USE ALBERT. HE HAS NOT WANTED TO BE IN THIS ROLE, AND HE'S NOT COMFORTABLE IN THIS ROLE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECCRD: AND HE WANTS TO BE FINISHED. NOW WE WILL GET SOME MORE PROFESSIONALS INVOLVED IN THIS AS WE GET THIS PROCESS ORGANIZED. WE'RE SO SHORT OF PEOPLE RIGHT NOW; IT'S TERRIBLE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECCRD: AS SOON AS THE PRESIDENT TELLS US TO MOVE AHEAD, I'M SURE THAT SAM AND I CAN GET THE RIGHT PEOPLE INVOLVED IN THIS.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECCRD: AND NOW ?NORTH? NEEDS TO TALK ABOUT BEIRUT AND DAMASCUS. I'M NOT SURE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). ((PHONE RINGS)) SECCRD SAYS TO PARTY ON PHONE, "OKAY, I THINK WE'RE ON THE RIGHT ROAD NOW. BE RIGHT DOWN."

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT ALBERT REALLY DOESN'T UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS ((FEW WORDS)) BACK IN TEHRAN. AND THAT'S PART OF THE PROBLEM.

((KNOCK ON THE DOOR))

?NORTH? ARE YOU FINISHED?

SECCRD: JUST TWO MINUTES.

?NORTH? TWO MINUTES?

SECCRD: YEAH. ((THEN, SPEAKING TO BAHRAMANI)) NOW, WE HAVE NOT SOLVED THAT PROBLEM. AND WE CAN COME BACK TO THIS LATER, BUT WE AGREE IT'S A PROBLEM. IS THAT CORRECT?

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECCRD: SO WE AGREE? NOW NORTH WANTS TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT THE HOSTAGES AND HOW WE COORDINATE--YOUR GOVERNMENT AND OUR GOVERNMENT. I THINK THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT; I WOULD LIKE TO GO GET HIM. LET ME GO GET HIM.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

((CAVE AND BAHRAMANI CHAT IN PERSIAN. INAUDIBLE. NORTH ARRIVES

NORTH: GOOD MORNING.

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SECOND: BEFORE WE START?

CAVE: YEAH. UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES DO THEY WANT ANY CREDIT FOR RELEASE THE HOSTAGES.

NORTH: NOTHING SAID ABOUT IRAN.

CAVE: NOTHING SAID ABOUT IRAN. THEY THINK THE BEST THING TO DO IS TURN THEM OVER TO THE SYRIANS, LET THEM RELEASE THEM, AND THEN SAY SOMETHING ABOUT HUMANITARIAN ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). CONSIDERING WHAT HAS HAPPENED ABOUT THE MCFARLANE VISIT, IF PRESIDENT REAGAN CAME OUT WITH A STATEMENT THANKING IRAN, IRAN WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE ((WORD MISSED)) CONDITIONS CREATED BY BRINGING OUT IN THE OPEI THE MCFARLANE VISIT. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

SECOND: BUT IF THE PRESIDENT SIMPLY SAYS HE WISHES TO THANK THOSE FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THIS ...

CAVE: HUMANITARIAN ((WORD MISSED)).

SECOND: JUST A GENERAL STATEMENT WITHOUT IDENTIFYING ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECOND: I THINK WE SHOULD JUST HOLD IT TO THIS GROUP HERE UNTIL WE GET THIS DOWN.

((PORTION INAUDIBLE.))

SECOND: ALBERT, WHAT WE'D LIKE TO DO IS JUST LET THE THREE OF US DEAL WITH THEM ON HOW WE'RE GOING TO COORDINATE THIS BEIRUT-DAMASCUS THING.

((MUTTERING IN THE BACKGROUND; ALBERT LEAVES THE ROOM.))

CAVE: WHILE YOU WERE OUT, HE HAD A CALL FROM TEHRAN ABOUT THE ?HOSTAGES? AND THEY'VE BEEN ?TRYING TO? RELEASE ((ONE OR TWO WORDS MISSED)) BY SUNDAY AFTERNOON.

?NORTH?: ((WORD MISSED))

CAVE: DAMASCUS. THE OTHER THING HE'S SAYING IS THAT BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT THEY'RE GOING TO HAVE TO BE ON THE TELEPHONE COORDINATING ?AL THIS?, AND THAT POSSIBLY ?THEY? WON'T HAVE A SECURE VOICE SYSTEM, ((PORTION MISSED)).

NORTH: MY INSTRUCTIONS ARE NOT TO TURN IT OVER UNTIL WE'VE GOT...

CAVE: WELL, WE DON'T HAVE ALL THE PARTS TO IT.

NORTH: NO. WE GOT TWO SITTING UP IN.

CAVE: I DON'T GIVE THEM THE.. WE DON'T HAVE THE--((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: IT'S IN GENEVA. WELL THEY CAN GET 'EM. ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS JUST ENTER THE CODES, BUT I HAVE TO GET THEM OUT OF GENEVA.

SECOND: WELL, I'D LIKE TO HAVE A CAUCUS WITH THE THREE OF US ON THIS SUBJECT HERE WHEN WE'VE FINISHED.

CAVE: ((EXPLAINS TO BAHRAMANI THAT THEY ...

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PHONE))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS)) WHAT HE WANTS TO KNOW NOW IS--EXPLAIN TO HIM HOW YOU WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THE HOSTAGES HANDLED, AND HE'LL SEE IF IT'S POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO DO IT THAT WAY.

NORTH:

OR. IDEALLY, WE WOULD HAVE TERRY WAITE GO TO BEIRUT AND HAVE THE HOSTAGES TURNED OVER TO HIM IN BEIRUT.

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS)) WHERE'S WAITE NOW?

NORTH:

LONDON. [REDACTED]

NSC/STATE b6

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS)) ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

NORTH:

WELL, THE REASON FOR THAT IS BECAUSE IT MAKES EVERYBODY THINK IT'S A HUMANITARIAN EFFORT AND IT PROTECTS YOUR SIDE AS WELL AS OUR SIDE. THE REST OF THE WORLD DOESN'T LOOK AT MCFARLANE; EVERYBODY LOOKS AT WAITE.

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

NORTH:

[REDACTED]

NSC/STATE

b6

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS YEAH, HE SAYS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BECAUSE WE CAN ALWAYS SAY IT ?WAS? BY MEANS OF WAITE.

NORTH:

THAT'S WHY WE WANT TO DO IT THAT WAY.

SECORD:

BECAUSE WE STILL HAVE MORE HOSTAGES THERE AND WE DO NOT WANT TO JEOPARDIZE THEM.

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

NSC/STATE
CAN YOU GET HIM THERE BY SUNDAY

NORTH:

WE CAN GET HIM THERE THIS AFTERNOON

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

NORTH:

OK. WHAT

[REDACTED] NSC/STATE

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ?I DON'T KNOW? IF I CAN GET A MESSAGE THROUGH TO THEM TO TURN THEM OVER TO WAITE TODAY OR TOMORROW. ((SENTENCE MISSED.))

NORTH:

[REDACTED] NSC/STATE

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((UNINTELLIGIBLE))

BAHRAMANI:

NORTH: THERE'S A DOCTOR IN BEIRUT WHO WAITE HAS TALKED TO BEFORE WHO KNOWS THE HIZBALLAH.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: [REDACTED] WAITE GO TO BEIRUT [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WILL GO TO BEIRUT [REDACTED] WAITE TO
NSC/
STATE TALK TO THAT DOCTOR.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: I CAN GET THE ADDRESS FOR YOU IF YOU WANT.

BAHRAMANI: EAST OR WEST?

CAVE: IN WEST BEIRUT. ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) YOU CAN GET THE ADDRESS ((TWO WORDS MISSED))?

NORTH: I CAN HAVE IT FOR YOU IN A COUPLE OF MINUTES PROBABLY. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NSC/STATE

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ARE YOU GOING TO TURN THE GUYS OVER TO THE DOCTOR, TURN THEM OVER TO WAITE, OR WHAT?

NORTH: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) DIRECTLY. WAITE CAN GET INTO WEST BEIRUT; THEY JUST DON'T WANT HIM TAKEN HOSTAGE BY SOME OTHER FACTION.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: I DON'T WANT TO BE TAKEN HOSTAGE EITHER!

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SECORD: IF IT'S TOO HARD FOR THEM, WE CAN MOVE THEM LATER TO DAMASCUS AS WELL.

NORTH: YEAH, BUT IT'S BETTER TO DO IT IN BEIRUT, IT REALLY IS. THEN WE'LL PUT THE HOSTAGES ON A HELICOPTER AND TAKE THEM [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

((FEW WORDS MISSED)). IT'S BEST TO DO IT IN BEIRUT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS ?THEY'D? RATHER HAVE YOU ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

C

((LAUGHTER))

((END TAPE 15))

I

A

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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RS-4115

TOP SECRET

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NSA

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

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((TAPE A16))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) WHAT HE WANTS TO DO IS GO OVER THE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: LET ME JUST ASK ONE QUESTION: DOES THIS PLAN SOUND REASONABLE TO YOU?

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT ... HE SAYS I'VE GOT TO CALL TEHRAN TO CHECK ON THIS BECAUSE WHAT WE WORKED OUT IN TEHRAN IS A PLAN TO TURN THEM OVER TO THE SYRIANS, AND THEY ALSO WANTED TO EMBARRASS THE ?ENGLISH?, BECAUSE THE SYRIANS WOULD GET CREDIT FOR THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) HE DOESN'T THINK THE ??ENGLISH?? WOULD LIKE YOU GUYS HAVING TO THANK THE SYRIANS FOR ??FREEING THE HOSTAGES??

SECGRD: WE DON'T EVEN WANT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

CAVE: HE SAYS HE'LL CALL AND CHECK ON IT AND SEE IF IT CAN BE DONE IN BEIRUT. IT'S ?THEIR? PLAN. THE PLAN, THE PLAN THAT THEY DREW UP IN TEHRAN IS THAT THEY WOULD ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) TO MOVE THEM TO DAMASCUS.

NORTH: THAT'S RIGHT. I MEAN IF THE ONLY WAY TO DO IT IS THROUGH DAMASCUS, GO AHEAD AND DO IT THAT WAY.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE THINKS IF HE CALLS THEM, IT WILL TAKE ABOUT 5 HOURS FOR THEM TO GET ?AN ANSWER?. AND THIS IS WHAT HE'LL DO. HE WILL CHECK WITH TEHRAN AND FIND OUT, BECAUSE HE HONESTLY DOESN'T KNOW IF THERE'S ANY DIFFICULTY IN DOING IT IN BEIRUT.

NORTH:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NSC / STATE

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS ONE THING THAT ?CAN HAPPEN? ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BEFORE HE LEAVES, WE HAVE GOT TO GET SOME SORT OF CIPHER COMMUNICATIONS OR SOMETHING ?IF? WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO BE ON THE TELEPHONE A LOT ONCE HE GETS BACK TO MAKE SURE EVERYTHING

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GOES SMOOTHLY. THIS IS WHY HE BROUGHT UP THE THING ABOUT TURNING THAT TELEPHONE OVER TO HIM. OR WE'VE GOT TO WORK OUT SOME KIND OF A COMPLICATED CODE. HE SAYS THAT ONE OF THE BIGGEST HEADACHES HE'S HAD IS ALL THIS TIME HE'S HAD TO BE ON THE TELEPHONE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: THAT'S WHAT I WILL TRY TO DO. I WILL TRY TO GET PERMISSION ((TWO WORDS MISSED.))

CAVE: THE QUESTION IS, GETTING THE WHOLE DAMN THING TOGETHER.

NORTH: NO, YOU SEE, I CAN HAVE IT COURIERED FROM DOWN IN GENEVA WITH CODES, BECAUSE THAT'S ALL WE NEED TO DO IS ENTER THE CODES IN THAT MACHINE. I CAN HAVE A COURIER MEET US IN FRANKFURT, ENTER THE CODES IN THE MACHINE, PRESET THEM, ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT OTHERWISE WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO USE THE CODES THAT ALBERT DEvised IN ((WORD MISSED)) PARTICULARLY, FOR THE QUESTION OF WAITE. NSC/STATE

NORTH: I THINK THAT THE NEXT MEETING AFTER THE HOSTAGES SHOULDN'T BE IN PORTUGAL, SHOULDN'T BE HERE, IT OUGHT TO BE IN WASHINGTON--- AGAIN. ME AND YOU AND ((WORD MISSED)).

CAVE: HE SAID "YOU GUYS DON'T UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION IN TEHRAN." IT'S EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: HOW ABOUT AYUB?

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS, ON THIS QUESTION, HE SAYS THAT ONCE WE'VE GOTTEN BY THIS STAGE, THEY'VE ALREADY DONE SOME THINKING ABOUT THIS IN TEHRAN, AND THEY'VE PICKED SOME PEOPLE WHO WILL REMAIN IN DIRECT CONTACT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) RELATIONS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ONE OF THESE IS GOING TO BE AYUB. ((IN PERSIAN TO BAHRAMANI): IS HIS REAL NAME AYUB?

BAHRAMANI: THIS IS THE NAME IN HIS PASSPORT. HIS TRUE NAME IS FERIDUN MEHDINEZHAD.

CAVE: FERIDUN MEHDIZADEH.

((PORTION MISSED))

NORTH: WHAT WERE YOU TALKING ABOUT?

CAVE: WHAT WE WERE TALKING ABOUT--OH I'M SORRY--WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT IS THE PROPOSAL. I ASKED HIM WHAT'S FERIDUN SAMI'I--AYUB'S-- REAL NAME? AND HIS PASSPORT NAME IS AYUB MOZAFFARI.

BAHRAMANI: HE IS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MAJLES ((TWO WORDS MISSED)).

((PORTION MISSED))

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CAVE: OKAY, HE SAYS AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE A CONFLICT ((FEW WORDS MISSED))
HE SAID THIS HAS BEEN DIVIDED UP INTO SIX MAJOR COMPONENTS
((PORTION MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): HE IS NOT AN ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE. WHAT HE IS IS
THE MAN WHO IS APPOINTED BY THE MAJLES TO BE THEIR REPRESENTATIVE
IN ALL THESE VARIOUS SIX CENTERS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): THE NEXT GUY IS THE MAN WE MET IN TEHRAN--DR. HADI
((NAJAFABADI)).

SECORD: IS HE STILL ALIVE?

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)):

?SECORD?: ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): HE WAS THE HEAD OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF
THE MAJLES. HE IS NOW THE DEPUTY OF THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

NORTH: FOR WHAT? WHICH COMMITTEE--IN THE MAJLES?

CAVE: YEAH, THE MAJLES.

NORTH: IS HE AN ELECTED MEMBER?

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): HE'S A REPRESENTATIVE FROM TEHRAN.

NORTH: HE'S A MEMBER OF THE MAJLES THEN.

CAVE: YEAH. ((IN PERSIAN TO BAHRAMANI--INAUDIBLE))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): AND THIS GUY NAJAFABADI IS ALSO HASHEMI'S SPECIAL
ADVISOR ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND HE'S HASHEMI'S CHOICE TO BE THE
NEXT FOREIGN MINISTER IN THE NEXT ((WORD MISSED)).

NORTH: HE'S CURRENTLY HIS ADVISOR ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS?

CAVE: SPECIAL ADVISOR ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

NORTH: WHAT'S GOING TO HAPPEN TO VELAYATI?

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)):

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): HE SAYS THAT IT DEPENDS ON THE ELECTION. BECAUSE HE'S
A HASHEMI MAN AND IF THEY DO WELL IN THE ELECTION, THEY MIGHT MAKE
HIM THE MINISTER OF HEALTH OR THEY MIGHT MAKE HIM SOMETHING ELSE.
IT DEPENDS ON HOW THE NEXT ELECTION GOES.

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[REDACTED]

NORTH: THEY JUST DECIDED HE'S GOING TO BE THE NEXT FOREIGN MINISTER.

CAVE: NO, WE'RE TALKING ABOUT VELAYATI. YOU ASKED HIM ABOUT VELAYATI.

NORTH: OH, OKAY.

SECORD: WHEN IS IT? I DIDN'T KNOW THERE WAS AN ELECTION.

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)):

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): BUT IT'S STILL TWO YEARS OFF TILL THE NEXT ELECTION.

NORTH: RUN BACK OVER WHO SAMI'I IS PLEASE AGAIN FOR ME.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): WHAT YOU MUST MAKE A NOTE OF IS THAT DR. HADI NAJAFABADI HAS A FAR MORE POWERFUL POSITION IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY BECAUSE HE IS THE SPECIAL ADVISOR TO HASHEMI ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): OH, AND HE'S ALSO THE CHIEF OF THIS COMMISSION FOR. ?HANDLES? THEIR RELATIONS WITH FRANCE. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): AND HE SAYS IF YOU ?FIND OUT?... ?ANYTIME? THERE'S AN IMPORTANT COMMISSION GOING ON IN TEHRAN, HE'S TAKING PART IN IT.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): HE WAS VERY OPPOSED TO THE SHAH, AND HE GOT HIS PH.D IN PAKISTAN IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. AND IF YOU WANT TO CHECK HIM OUT ...

SECORD: PH.D FROM PAKISTAN--THAT'S WONDERFUL.

NORTH: HE WAS PROBABLY THERE WHEN THEY BURNED THE EMBASSY IN ISLAMABAD.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): AND HE WAS A MEMBER OF THE CLEROY AND IN THEIR YEAR 1359 ((WORD)) HE TOOK OFF HIS TURBAN.

NORTH: WHERE DID HE LEARN TO SPEAK ENGLISH SO WELL?

CAVE: PAKISTAN. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) STUDYING FOREIGN AFFAIRS, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: OK. RUN OVER ONCE MORE ...

CAVE: OK. HE IS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MAJLES.

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NORTH: SAMI'I?

CAVE: HE'S NOT AN ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE.

NORTH: WHAT'S HIS ((WORD))?

CAVE: MEHDIZADEH.

NORTH: SPELL THAT.

CAVE: M-E-H-D-I-Z-A-D-E-H. HE SAYS THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). ((TO BAHRAMANI IN PERSIAN--INAUDIBLE))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): HE SAYS THAT THE LAST ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) IS KANGARLU. AND HE IS THE ...

NORTH: WHAT'S HIS REAL NAME?

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)):

BAHRAMANI: MOHSEN KANGARLU.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)): THE NAME KANGARLU MUST BE TURKISH, RIGHT? IS IT AZARI? KANGARLU MUST BE AN AZARI NAME.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): HE DOESN'T KNOW MUCH ABOUT HIS BACKGROUND. HE'S ONLY KNOWN HIM FOR ABOUT TWO OR THREE? ((WORD MISSED)). ?HE HAS A? VERY IMPORTANT POST BECAUSE HE IS THE ADVISOR TO THE PRIME MINISTER ON SECURITY AFFAIRS. AND HE IS ONE OF THE REAL ?HOTHEADS?; HE CANNOT ...

SECORD: ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

CAVE: YEAH.

SECORD: SO WE NOTICED.

NORTH: HE TRAVELS WITH A PASSPORT THAT SAYS "KHAKI." ISN'T THAT RIGHT?

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)):

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): HE SAYS THAT, YOU KNOW, HE'S GOT NO PROBLEMS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ANY PASSPORT HE WANTS. THAT'S BECAUSE PASSPORTS NOW ARE ISSUED BY THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): THERE'S ONE MORE.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): ?HE'S GOING TO TRY TO EXPLAIN IT FOR YOU?: THERE'S ONE OTHER GUY THAT'S AN ADVISOR, BUT YOU'RE NOT GOING TO SEE HIM BUT HE'S GOING TO BE IN CHARGE OF

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[REDACTED]
THINGS IN TEHRAN. AND MAYBE SOMETIME IN THE FUTURE HE
WILL ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). DR. HASAN RUHANI.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): HE'S GOT A POST THAT IS SOMETHING LIKE POINDEXTER'S
IN TEHRAN. HE'S HASHEMI'S CHIEF OF STAFF.

SECORD: HASHEMI-RAFSANJANI.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): WHAT HE IS IS--HE SAYS THAT THEY HAVE DIVIDED ALL
THEIR FUNCTIONS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). THEY HAVE THE PEOPLE THAT
DO THE ACTION, AND THEN YOU ALSO HAVE THE STAFF WHERE THEY DO
THE SAME THING OUR STAFF ((WORD MISSED)). ALL THE PLANS AND
EVERYTHING ELSE AND THE THEORIZING. AND THIS GUY IS THE CHIEF
OF HASHEMI'S PLANNING STAFF.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): HE SAYS, YOU KNOW ((WORDS MISSED)) IRAN, HE'S INVOLVED
IN EVERYTHING. AND HE HAS BEEN IN CHARGE OF U.S.-IRANIAN... THE
PLANNING OF U.S.-IRANIAN RELATIONS.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: HE'S ALSO IN CHARGE OF AIR DEFENSE. ((TO BAHRAMANI IN PERSIAN)):
HOW CAN THAT BE? CHIEF OF AIR DEFENSE?

BAHRAMANI: ((IN PERSIAN)) YES... NO. DEFENSE OF ALL THE COUNTRY.

CAVE: AIR DEFENSE OF THE ENTIRE COUNTRY.

SECORD: DOES HE HAVE ANY BACKGROUND IN THIS?

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)):

BAHRAMANI:

((LAUGHTER; JOKE MISSED.))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)): HE HAS A PH.D IN SOCIOLOGY FROM ENGLAND.

NORTH: NO WONDER HE'S IN CHARGE OF AIR DEFENSE. ((LAUGHS)) IT'S JUST LIKE
OUR SYSTEM, IT'S JUST LIKE HOME.

SECORD: IS HE ANY RELATION TO GENERAL RUHANI OF THE SHAH'S AIR FORCE?

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)):

BAHRAMANI: NO.

CAVE: I ALSO ASKED HIM IF HE'S RELATED TO ALI ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: HOW DO YOU SPELL HIS LAST NAME?

SECORD: R-O-H-A-N-I. [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

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CAVE: OR R-U-H-A-N-I. ((TO BAHRAMANI IN PERSIAN)): THERE'S A ((WORD MISSED)) RUHANI IN PARIS. DO YOU KNOW HIM?

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE

((INTERPRETS)): HE SAYS THAT HIS UNCLE REALLY LIKES THIS GUY AND THINKS HE'S ONE OF THE BRIGHTEST LIGHTS IN IRAN, AND THERE'S A VERY GOOD CHANCE THAT HE'S GOING TO BE A FUTURE PRIME MINISTER OF IRAN. ((TO BAHRAMANI IN PERSIAN)): HOW OLD IS HE?

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE

((INTERPRETS)): HE'S ABOUT 48.

NORTH:

HOW OLD IS KANGARLU?

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE

((INTERPRETS)): HE DOESN'T KNOW. HE SAYS KANGARLU ((REMAINDER OF SENTENCE MISSED)).

SECOND:

?WHAT YOU'RE TRYING TO SAY? --HIS MENTAL AGE IS ABOUT SIX.

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

((LAUGHS))

NORTH:

TELL ME MORE ABOUT ((WORD MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS)) THE FACT THAT HE IS DOING THIS WITH RUHANI ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) AT THIS JUNCTURE IS THAT THIS HAS BEEN KEPT SECRET FROM EVERYONE--THAT HE IS THE CHIEF OF THE COMMISSION FOR IRAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS)) OK. THE OTHER ((ONE OR TWO WORDS MISSED)) THIS IS ONE REASON WHY HE'S ((WORD MISSED)) DISPOSED TO DO THIS IS THAT HE HAS PRO-AMERICAN ((WORD MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS NOW IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THAT NO ONE KNOW THAT THIS GUY IS INVOLVED BECAUSE IT WILL CAUSE HIM ALL KINDS OF PROBLEMS.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS)) ((SENTENCE MISSED))

NORTH:

HE WAS NOT AT ANY OF THE MEETINGS WE HAD IN TEHRAN?

CAVE:

((INTERPRETS; LISTS KANGARLU ...))

NORTH:

KANGARLU, SAMI'I.

BAHRAMANI: HADI

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CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) HADI, AND ONE OTHER PERSON.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) THE OTHER GUY IS A FRIEND OF KANGARLU.

NORTH: WHO'S THAT?

CAVE: REMEMBER THE OTHER GUY THAT WAS THERE?

NORTH: MUSTAFAVI.

CAVE: HE FORGOT HIS NAME AT ONE TIME.

NORTH: MUSTAFAVI.

CAVE: ((ASKS BAHRAMANI IN PERSIAN IF IT WAS MUSTAFAVI AND SAYS THAT HE ((MUSTAFAVI)) FORGOT HIS NAME ((IMPLYING THAT MUSTAFAVI WAS NOT HIS REAL NAME)).

BAHRAMANI: ((IN PERSIAN)) NO. THAT'S NOT IT.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) HE FORGOT HIS NAME.

BAHRAMANI: ((LAUGHS))

CAVE: ((I SAID)) MR. MUSTAFAVI? HE SAID, "WHO? WHO IS MUSTAFAVI?"
((LAUGHTER FROM ALL))

NORTH: WHO, WHO?

SECOND: WHO ARE WE GOING TO DEAL WITH, SAM? ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) THIS IS AN IMPORTANT PROBLEM. FOR A WHILE IT'S GOING TO BE VERY COMPLEX. THE REASON IS THAT THIS FOUR-MEMBER COMMISSION... HE SAYS THE THREE OTHER GUYS--KANGARLU, THE DOCTOR, AND HADI ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THE ONLY GUY OF THE FOUR THAT KNOWS THAT HE ((BAHRAMANI)) IS IN ANY WAY INVOLVED IN THIS IS SAMI'I, AND THE ONLY REASON FOR THIS WAS BECAUSE HE HAD TO BE, BECAUSE SAMI'I IS ONE OF THE OPERATIVE PEOPLE.

NORTH: THE ONLY ONE OF THE FOUR THAT KNOWS THAT HE ((BAHRAMANI)) IS INVOLVED IN THIS?

CAVE: IS SAMI'I.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) OK. WHAT HE'S NOW SAYING IS THAT WE'RE GETTING INTO THE POINT WHERE THERE'S GOING TO BE MORE COMPLEX DISCUSSION ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). THAT'S WHY THEY'VE APPOINTED THIS COMMISSION. NOW WHAT HE WANTS IS TO HAVE A MEETING. HE WANTS TO HAVE A MEETING ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) WHAT WE HAVE TO DISCUSS BEFORE ANOTHER MEETING ((TWO WORDS MISSED)) THEY'RE GOING TO GET ON THE TABLE, WHAT SUBJECTS WE'RE DISCUSSING--WHAT DO YOU GUYS WANT TO DISCUSS, AND THEY WANT TO SAY WHAT THEY WANT TO DISCUSS. THEN

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[REDACTED]
THEY'LL DECIDE WHO TAKES PART IN THE MEETING. ((PORTION MISSED))

NORTH: LET ME ASK THIS: DO ALL FOUR OF THOSE MEN TRAVEL OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY?

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS--ASKS IF WHEN THEY HAVE A MEETING ALL FOUR MEN COULD COME.))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE--OF COURSE THEY WANT TO KEEP HIM FREE FROM THE KNOWLEDGE OF THESE OTHER ?THREE? GUYS THAT DON'T KNOW HE'S INVOLVED. FOR INSTANCE, SUPPOSE FOR INSTANCE THAT ?IT'S DECIDED? WE'RE GOING TO HAVE A MEETING TO DISCUSS SOMETHING WHICH IS... LET'S SAY FOR INSTANCE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). A COUPLE OF DAYS BEFORE THIS MEETING TAKES PLACE, EITHER IF WE HAVE SECURE PHONE COMMUNICATIONS WITH HIM, OR IF NOT HE WILL COME OUT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ON THE PHONE, OR HE'LL COME OUT AND MEET WITH WHOEVER WE DECIDE--WHICH ONE OF US ((FEW WORDS MISSED))--ALL THREE OF US OR TWO OF US, AND WHAT THEY WILL DO IS THEY WILL TELL US THE SUBJECTS THEY WANT TO DISCUSS AND THEY WANT FROM US WHAT SUBJECTS WE WANT TO DISCUSS AT THIS MEETING. AND THIS WILL DETERMINE FOR THEM WHO'S GOING TO ((TWO WORDS MISSED)) THE MEETING. HE SAYS IT MIGHT BE DECIDED HE WILL ALSO TAKE PART IN THE MEETING. HE SAYS THAT HASN'T BEEN DECIDED YET. BUT BASED ON WHAT WE WANT TO DISCUSS, THAT WILL MAKE UP, YOU KNOW, THE CONTENT OF THE PEOPLE WHO COME TO DISCUSS ((TRAILS OFF)). BUT HE SAYS IF THEY DON'T HAVE ... SUPPOSING IT'S DECIDED OKAY, LET'S HAVE A SUBSEQUENT MEETING TWO WEEKS FROM NOW. THEN A COUPLE OF DAYS BEFORE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) SECURE COMMS, WE'LL DO IT BY ... IF NOT HE WILL COME OUT AND SAY ?HERE? IS THE SUBJECT THAT THESE GUYS WANT TO DISCUSS--THAT OUR SIDE WANTS TO DISCUSS. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THE AMERICAN SIDE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). THEN HE'LL TAKE THAT BACK AND THEY WILL MAKE SURE THAT THEIR PEOPLE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) DISCUSS THIS.

NORTH: OKAY. I GUESS I'VE GOT TWO QUESTIONS. THE PRESIDENT IS ANXIOUS TO GET ON WITH HIS--?AS WE HAVE TALKED?, YOU KNOW, ABOUT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS WE CANNOT ((TWO WORDS MISSED)).

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AS OF RIGHT NOW, THE PERSON HE HAS CHOSEN TO REPRESENT OUR SIDE IN THOSE DISCUSSIONS IS MCFARLANE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS, YOU KNOW, WHAT IS HIS POST? I SAID HE HAD THE SAME POST THAT POINDEXTER HAS NOW--CHIEF OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL.

NORTH: HE IS ALSO A VERY CLOSE PERSONAL FRIEND OF THE PRESIDENT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND HE HANDLES MANY VERY SENSITIVE MISSIONS FOR THE PRESIDENT. THAT'S WHY HE WAS THE ONE WHO CAME TO TEHRAN.
[REDACTED]

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CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: ASSUMING THAT ALL OF THE HOSTAGES... THE HOSTAGE OBSTACLE IS BEHIND US VERY QUICKLY, WE WOULD LIKE TO MOVE QUICKLY WITH A MEETING BETWEEN MCFARLANE AND WHOEVER YOU THINK IS APPROPRIATE AT HIS LEVEL AS A SENIOR REPRESENTATIVE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND WE ARE THINKING OF SOMETHING AROUND THE MIDDLE OF NOVEMBER. WE WANT TO BE HELPFUL IN AN HONORABLE CONCLUSION TO THE WAR, AND MCFARLANE IS WILLING TO PLAY A VERY SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN THAT AT THE DIRECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WHAT I THINK WOULD BE APPROPRIATE IS FOR YOU TO TELL US WHO IT WOULD BE THAT WOULD MEET WITH MCFARLANE, PERHAPS IN BRAZIL, PERHAPS IN TURKEY OR GENEVA OR WHATEVER.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: OR SECRETLY IN TEHRAN IF THAT'S WHAT YOU WANT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI: ((LAUGHS))

CAVE: HE DOESN'T LIKE THAT. HE DOESN'T LIKE THAT.

NORTH: WE CAN GO SECRETLY TO WHATEVER LOCATION ?HE NAMES?.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT WHAT HIS PROPOSAL WAS WHEN THEY WERE DISCUSSING IN TEHRAN, AND HE WAS DISCUSSING... HIS PROPOSAL WAS THAT DR. NAJAFABADI AND ?HE WOULD? ((TWO WORDS MISSED)) GO TO WASHINGTON, BECAUSE IF HE TOLD ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ?YOU GUYS WERE PAYING? AND THEY SAID, "OK, WELL WE'LL THINK ABOUT IT AND LET YOU KNOW" ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). BUT HIS PROPOSAL WAS THAT THIS MEETING BE IN WASHINGTON.

?NORTH?: ((INAUDIBLE))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT WHEN THEY WENT BACK TO ((WORD MISSED)) AND HE SAYS, YOU KNOW, WE THOUGHT THAT THEY HAD ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THEY WERE MOVING US AROUND ?TO HOTELS? WE WENT TO ABOUT SIX DIFFERENT HOTELS.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS IT HAS BEEN DETERMINED THAT THEY SHOULD ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). HE SAYS THAT ONE OF THE THINGS THAT HE'S ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) HE'S GOTTEN CONDITIONAL APPROVAL--HE SAYS HE HASN'T GOTTEN FINAL WORD YET--IS THAT THE DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ((REMAINDER OF SENTENCE MISSED)).

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NORTH:

?WHITEHEAD?

CAVE:

?APPARENTLY?

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((END TAPE A16))

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((TAPE A17))

NORTH: SHALL I TAKE THEM ON THE SAME GUIDED TOUR THAT YOU GOT OF THE WHITE HOUSE?

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS IT WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA TO HAVE ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

CAVE: ((MISSED))

NORTH: ((MISSED))

CAVE: ((MISSED))

SECCRD: NUMBER TWO TO SHULTZ.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI: THEIR DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER IS LARIJANI. THE SPECIFIC FIELD IS INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS UH AND UH, ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI: ((INAUDIBLE))

CAVE: ((INAUDIBLE))

BAHRAMANI: WHAT'S THAT?

CAVE: HE SAID ?THIS IS ALL? A JOKE.

SECCRD: ((LAUGHS))

CAVE: ((LAUGHS))

BAHRAMANI: HE SAID THAT THIS GUY WAS FIRST IN HIS CLASS AT ?M. I. T.?

CAVE: IS THAT RIGHT. HE'S A SMART MAN.

NORTH: IN MATHEMATICS.

CAVE: THAT'S VERY DIFFICULT TO DO.

SECCRD: ((INTERPRETS)) ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ALSO A MULLAH.

BAHRAMANI: IS THAT RIGHT? HOW OLD IS HE?

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI: ((INTERPRETS)) AND HE IS A VERY CLOSE FRIEND OF HIS UNCLE'S.

CAVE: HOW OLD IS HE?

NORTH: [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

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CAVE: 37.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) BUT HIS UNCLE IS ?MOHAMMAD?, NOT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

SECCRD: WHAT HAPPENS AFTER, UH... LET US ASSUME THAT SUNDAY AFTERNOON HE DO ALL THIS COORDINATION AND THESE TWO PEOPLE ARE RELEASED AND UH, WHAT DOES HE ENVISION THE NEXT STEP IS? WHAT DO WE DO?

CAVE:

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE'S GOING TO GIVE YOU HIS PERSONAL OPINION.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) OK. WHAT HE'S THINKING OF IS, HE SAYS THIS, WHAT THEY WOULD LIKE--HERE'S WHAT HIS PROPOSAL IS AND HOW HE SEES IT. WE GO AHEAD WITH THE HAWK SPARES, THEY'LL PAY THE MONEY FOR THEM ?TO? SHIP THEM. I GUESS THE MEDICINE WILL BE ON THAT AS WELL.

NORTH: ((MISSED))

CAVE: ((MISSED))

NORTH: OH THAT'S RIGHT. THEY'RE ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))

SECCRD: THEY'LL GO WITH THE BOXES.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((SENTENCE MISSED)) WHAT DID I JUST SAY.

SECCRD: YOU SAID THE NEXT STEP WOULD BE THE HAWKS.

NORTH: LET ME JUST ... PAY FOR HAWK SPARES IS THE FIRST STEP. SECOND ...

SECCRD: SHIP THE HAWK SPARES.

NORTH: SHIP THE HAWK SPARES.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT THE MONEY IS ALREADY IN FRANKFURT.

SECCRD: BUT HE SAID THAT SAMI'I IS COMING TO LISBON AND ...

CAVE: I'LL GET INTO THAT. AND WHAT HE SAYS ?HE? WOULD LIKE TO DO IS ((REMAINDER OF SENTENCE MISSED)). I TOLD HIM THAT IT'S GOING TO BE DIFFICULT TO GET SOMEONE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). WHAT HE WANTS IS ...

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[REDACTED]

NORTH: WHAT WE DON'T KNOW ... I'VE BEEN ON THE PHONE HALF THE NIGHT ON TECHNICIANS, OK? I HAVE A TECHNICIAN LINED UP, BUT I AM TOLD THAT THEY ARE NOT ANXIOUS TO SHIP TECHNICIANS WHILE HOSTAGES ARE BEING HELD.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THIS IS WHAT HE TOLD ME: HE SAID, "ONE, IT WILL BECOME PUBLICLY KNOWN."

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: I TOLD HIM; HE SAID, "NO I DON'T THINK ..." HE SAID HE DOESN'T THINK IT WOULD BECOME ...

NORTH: THE BRITISH INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IS GOING TO LEAK IT, YOU KNOW. THAT'S WHERE IT'S GOING TO COME OUT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT ONE THING YOU SHOULD KNOW ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) IS THAT THE ?CLEARANCES? HAVE ALL BEEN TAKEN OVER BY THE PASDARS. THEY'RE UNDER THEIR CONTROL.

NORTH: EVEN THE PILOT? HE'S THE ONLY ONE WHO WOULD ?HAVE IT?. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) DO YOU HAVE A PILOT?

BAHRAMANI: ((IN PERSIAN)) YES.

NORTH: FOR THE F-14'S?

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) AN F-14 PILOT AND HE WOULD BE THE GUY THAT YOUR EXPERT WOULD BE IN CONTACT WITH.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS DON'T WORRY ABOUT IT COMING OUT IN IRAN. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) MCFARLANE. ((LAUGHTER))

NORTH: FIVE MILLION COPIES OF HIS PICTURE? ((FEW WORDS MISSED)): IT IS NOT THAT WE DO NOT TRUST YOU OR YOUR PEOPLE--THAT'S NOT THE PROBLEM. THE PROBLEM IS THAT IT'S POLITICAL ON OUR SIDE IF IT BECOMES PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE AND THERE ARE STILL HOSTAGES BEING HELD.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE'S GIVING US ... HE SAYS LOOK, THIS... TO DO

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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THIS ... IT WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL STEP TO DEMONSTRATE
((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: ((WORD MISSED)) WE'VE GOT THE GUY ... I THINK SOMEBODY'S SIGNING
THE CONTRACT WITH HIM RIGHT NOW--WELL NOT YET, IT'S ONLY SIX IN
THE MORNING.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS WHAT HE'S ASKING IS THAT YOU GUYS GOT
TO GO BACK TO WASHINGTON AND CONVINCE THE RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS
TO DO THIS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: THE GUY WE'VE GOT--I THINK--IS A FORMER MILITARY GUY; HE'S A
FORMER NAVY GUY WHO NOW WORKS FOR ... HUGHES?

SECOND: I THINK SO. LISTEN, WE CAN GO BACK AND TRY TO CONVINCE WASHINGTON
OF A LOT OF THINGS, BUT AFTER SUNDAY WE WILL HAVE STILL AT LEAST
ONE HOSTAGE THAT WE SCORE OR COUNT AGAINST IRAN--AT LEAST ONE.
I THINK THAT IT'S HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT WE WOULD BE ALLOWED TO
SEND TECHNICIANS INTO IRAN, TO ISFAHAN, UNTIL WE GET THAT GUY OUT.
SO WHY CAN'T WE DO SOMETHING TO GET THE GUY OUT? THAT'S WHAT I
WANT TO TALK ABOUT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI: ((IN PERSIAN)) I'LL TRY TO RESOLVE THAT TOO.

SECOND: SEF, IT'S VERY IRONIC. WHAT THEY'RE DOING IS HOLDING THEMSELVES
HOSTAGE BECAUSE OF ONE GUY.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) IT'S A POLITICAL ISSUE. WE THINK WE CAN NAME
SOMEBODY, BUT BEFORE WE SEND HIM, WE HAVE TO GET THE PRESIDENT'S
PERMISSION.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT THERE'S A KIND OF WAR OF
NERVES. HE SAYS THAT... FIRST HE SAYS LOOK, I ...
YOU GUYS HAVE PROBLEMS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) I MEAN I
CAN'T GET INVOLVED IN THAT BECAUSE I DON'T UNDERSTAND
YOUR PROBLEMS AND YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE TO WORK ON
THEM YOURSELVES. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) HE SAYS BUT
((FEW WORDS MISSED)) MY UNCLE ((FEW WORDS MISSED))
HAS BEEN TAKEN ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PHOENIX ((FEW
WORDS MISSED)) THAT ?70? WE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) AND
HE'S PUT AN AWFUL LOT OF PRESSURE ON KANGARLU ON THE
ISSUE OF THE PHOENIX; AND HE SAYS IT'S ALMOST BECOME
LIKE A WAR OF NERVES BECAUSE ?HIS UNCLE? HAS ALSO
TALKED TO HIM ABOUT THE PHOENIX, AND HE SAYS THAT

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NORTH: HE'S TALKED TO EVERYBODY ABOUT IT. TABATABAI IS ?OUT?
TALKING PHOENIXES. EVERYBODY'S TALKING.

CAVE: BUT HE SAYS THAT THIS IS ONE OF THE THINGS THAT HAS REALLY...
HE'S BEEN TAKEN WITH, AND THIS WAS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY
HE BROUGHT IT UP, TO EXPLAIN ((ONE WORD MISSED)) HERE IS
THE AMOUNT OF PROGRESS TO BE MADE IF WE WOULD SEND A TECHNICIAN
AND JUST LOOK AT THE PHOENIX

SECCRD: WE UNDERSTAND THAT.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)) ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) HE ALREADY TOLD THEM. HE SAID, "HEY, LOOK, THERE IS NO CHANCE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS GOING TO SEND PHOENIX MISSILES ?TO US?"

?NORTH? TRUE.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)) AND HE SAID.... HE ADDED... HE SAID ONE OF THE REASONS THEY'RE SO HOT ON TRYING TO GET WORKING THE 70 SOME PHOENIXES THAT THEY'VE GOT, IS BECAUSE THEY KNOW THAT THEY CAN'T GET ANY MORE.

NORTH: YOU KNOW THERE ARE STILL PEOPLE OUT TRYING TO BUY PHOENIXES. THEY OUGHT TO SAVE THEIR MONEY.

CAVE ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: ... A WASTE OF TIME AND MONEY

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS WE DON'T WANT ALL OUR WORKERS IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE TO BE OUT OF WORK. ((LAUGHTER))

SECCRD: LOOK, HE'S STILL NOT BEING RESPONSIVE TO THE POINT. I MEAN, WE UNDERSTAND THE PRESSURE ON THE PHOENIX. WE'VE UNDERSTOOD IT FOR A LONG TIME. BUT IT MAKES NO SENSE TO ME WHY THEY WOULD WANT TO HANG ON TO... OR NOT GRAB THIS OTHER GUY----PUT IT ANY WAY YOU WOULD----BECAUSE THAT PRESENTS A BIG, BIG PROBLEM FOR US. IT'S A BIG PROBLEM FOR THEM. WHY NOT JUST GET HIM THE HELL OUT OF THERE AND LET US ROLL?

CAVE ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS "WE DON'T CARE WHAT YOU SAY. "HE'S GOING TO TELL THEM WHEN HE GETS BACK ((WORD MISSED)) THAT YOU PROMISED TO SEND HIM. ((BAHRAMANI LAUGHS)).

SECCRD: BUT HE'S STILL NOT TALKING ABOUT THE GOD DAMNED HOSTAGE THING. AS A MINIMUM, TELL US WHERE HE IS AND WE'LL GO GET HIM. I MEAN WE NEED TO GET TO THIS..... WE NEED TO GET THIS OFF THE TABLE.

NORTH: THAT IS IMPORTANT.

CAVE: THAT IS IMPORTANT. ((IN PERSIAN ASKS BAHRAMANI ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE OTHER HOSTAGE--THE ONE WHO WILL REMAIN AFTER TWO ARE RELEASED))

BAHRAMANI ((ASKS CAVE THE TOTAL NUMBER OF HOSTAGES)).

CAVE: THERE ARE SIX LEFT RIGHT NOW, RIGHT?

NORTH: YEAH, TODAY. YOU WANT THEIR NAMES? SUTHERLAND, JACOBSEN,

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ANDERSON, CICIPPIO, REED, AND AUSTIN...UH, AUSTIN
TRACY

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE

((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) IS THIS THE ONE
THAT LARRY SPEAKES SAYS IS A BOOKSELLER? ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH:

YEAH. HE'S ACTUALLY...

CAVE:

HE ASKED ME, "HAVEN'T THE SYRIANS GOT SOMETHING TO DO WITH
IT?"

NORTH:

I DON'T KNOW? IT'S PROBABLY THE LIBYANS.

CAVE

((INTERPRETS))

NORTH:

I TELL YOU, YOU GUYS JUST TELL US WHERE THEY ARE; WE'LL GO
GET THEM.

CAVE

((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE

((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT THEY HAD TO SEND VELAYATI TO LIBYA
TWO DAYS AGO, BECAUSE THE LIBYANS OFFICIALLY OBJECTED TO THE
ARREST OF MEHDI HASHEMI ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH:

SURE, CAUSE HE'S THEIR BOY. HE WAS THE LIBYAN AGENT. THAT PROVES
THE CASE. LET ME GO BACK... YOU ONCE OFFERED TO TELL US WHERE
THEY WERE.

CAVE

((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE

((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS, "LET ME TELL YOU WHAT ((FEW WORDS MISSED))
THE IRAQIS KNOW WE DON'T HAVE ANY OPERATIONAL PHOENIXES. THEY
HAVE A GREAT DEAL OF RESPECT FOR THE PHOENIX. IF WE COULD JUST
SHOOT DOWN... IF WE COULD JUST GET A COUPLE OF THESE THINGS
WORKING, AND IF IT WOULD HIT AN AMERICAN... AN IRAQI PLANE,
WE THINK IT WOULD BE A TERRIBLE BLOW TO THEIR MORALE, AND WE
WOULD ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) DEFEND OUR TERRITORY ((FEW WORDS
MISSED))." NOW, HE SAYS, "LOOK. I'LL TELL YOU WHAT I'LL DO.
YOU SEND THAT TECHNICIAN TO HELP US WITH THE PHOENIXES, I WILL
PERSONALLY GET THE THIRD GUY OUT, AND I COULD TELL YOU WHERE
THE REST OF THE GUYS ARE. I WILL LEARN WHERE THEY ARE. I WILL
FIND OUT WHERE THEY ARE...

SECORD:

HE DOESN'T KNOW WHERE THEY ARE.

CAVE:

NO. WHAT HE SAID ON THAT WAS HE SAID THAT WHEN WE DISCUSSED
THIS BEFORE, AYUB... HE DOESN'T KNOW WHAT AYUB HAS BEEN ABLE TO
FIND OUT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BUT AYUB WAS GIVEN THE MISSION?,
YOU KNOW, LIKE WE TALKED BEFORE, OF FINDING OUT WHERE THE OTHER
TWO GUYS ARE.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE

((INTERPRETS))

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NORTH: HOW MANY FRENCH?

CAVE: THEY'VE GOT EIGHT. DON'T THEY--HOSTAGES?

NORTH: I'VE GOT IT DOWN. I THINK IT'S SEVEN OR EIGHT. I'LL GIVE YOU THE LIST.

CAVE: AND HE SAYS THAT HE'S CERTAIN THAT IF ANY PROGRESS CAN BE MADE ON THIS KUWAITI THING....

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT ONE OF THE REASONS WHY ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) THE HIZBALLAH ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ONE OF THE REASONS WHY THEY HAVEN'T BEEN RELEASED IS THAT THEY FEEL THE FRENCH ARE EXTREMELY DECEITFUL. AND, UH, THEY WON'T AGREE TO ?RELEASE THEM?. BUT HE SAYS THAT THEY JUST LIE TO THEM ABOUT EVERYTHING.

NORTH: THAT'S THE FRENCH. WHAT DID YOU EXPECT FROM A FRENCHMAN?

CAVE ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THEY DIDN'T JUST LIE. I MEAN, THEY WERE MAJOR LIES. ((LAUGHTER))

NORTH: THAT'S THE FRENCH.

SECCRD: THAT'S NORMAL.

CAVE: HE SAYS THAT THE RELEASE OF THE FRENCH DEPENDS ON SOME PROGRESS IN THE ((WORD MISSED)), BECAUSE THEY ARE SO FED UP WITH THE FRENCH.....

SECCRD: WELL, WE'RE INTERESTED IN THE FRENCH, BUT WE'RE MORE INTERESTED IN OUR PEOPLE RIGHT NOW. I MEAN, LET'S GET SERIOUS.

NORTH: LOOK, I'LL GET YOU A TECHNICIAN. ALRIGHT? I DON'T KNOW IF HE'S GOING TO BE THERE TUESDAY OR NOT. BUT, BY GOD, WE'RE GOING TO GET A TECHNICIAN. I THINK WHAT WE OUGHT TO DO IS THIS: WE OUGHT TO PLAN TO SEND A TECHNICIAN ALONG WITH THE HAWK PARTS.

CAVE ((INTERPRETS, THEN IN ENGLISH)) I TOLD HIM WE MIGHT EVEN SEND TWO.

SECCRD: TELL HIM I'LL MAKE HIM A DEAL. GIVE ME ONE OF HIS F-4'S; I'LL GO SHOOT DOWN SOME AIRPLANES. I'LL GET AT LEAST THREE ON THE FIRST DAY.

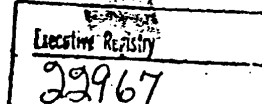
CAVE ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

SECCRD: WE'LL PUT ALI IN THE BACK SEAT.

CAVE ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI: ((LAUGHS))



CAVE ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAID IT WOULD BE A PITY IF YOU GOT KILLED.

SECRD: HOW WOULD I GET KILLED BY AN IRAQI PILOT? IMPOSSIBLE.

NORTH: ALRIGHT. I'LL HOLD YOU AT YOUR WORD, BECAUSE I'M GOING TO PRODUCE THE TECHNICIANS.

SECRD: YOU BETTER GET READY TO GO TO LEBANON.

CAVE ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS, AS OF THE TIME HE LEFT TEHRAN... HE SAYS DON'T WORRY ABOUT THE ONE GUY, HE SAYS THAT HE'LL BE FREE. THE OTHER TWO... HE SAID AS OF THE TIME....

?NORTH? TWO?

CAVE: WELL, THERE ARE THREE.... AS OF THE TIME HE LEFT TEHRAN... WELL THEY WERE JUST LOOKING FOR TWO, YOU KNOW, BECAUSE THE OTHER GUY WAS TAKEN... HE SAID THERE WAS NO WORD ON PRECISELY WHERE THEY WERE.

SECRD: HE MEANT THEY MAY GET HARD TO FIND.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) WHAT HE SAYS IS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ONE OF THE THINGS THAT'S ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) POLITICAL AND DEFENSE PROBLEM WHICH IS THE CONTINUED ATTACKS ON CITIES BY THE IRAQI AIR FORCE, AND, YOU KNOW, THEY FOCUSED ON THE PHOENIX AS THE ONE WAY THEY CAN DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

NORTH: WELL, YOU KNOW, WOULD YOU DO ME A FAVOR AGAIN? AGAIN TODAY? ((WORD MISSED)) RESERVATIONS. ((FEW WORDS)) ((LAUGHING))... BECAUSE I HAVE NO IDEA WHAT MY ((WORD MISSED)) FLIGHT PLAN IS.

SECRD: OK.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS WHAT IS A GOOD IDEA ABOUT BRINGING THEM IN WITH THE HAWKS IS THAT THEY'LL... THE PASDARAN CAN TAKE CONTROL OF THEM WHEN THEY ARRIVE IN ?BANDAR ABBAS? ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

NORTH: HMM. WE NEED TO RESOLVE THE DISCREPANCY ON THE HAWK PARTS. DOES HE NOT WANT US TO SHIP 156?

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((MISSED))

NORTH: WELL, HE'S ASKED FOR ANOTHER 1000?

SECRD: WE DON'T KNOW. WE'RE WAITING TO HEAR FROM THEM.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) HOW MANY MORE DO YOU NEED?

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BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT THEY'VE GOT PLENTY OF HAWK PARTS. HE SAYS THE ARMY'S GOT A SERIOUS PROBLEM. HE SAYS THE GUY IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE CALLED HIM THE NIGHT BEFORE HE LEFT AND SAID, "I UNDERSTAND YOU GUYS GOT A LOT OF TOWS, AND WE NEED SOME."

SECORD: DOESN'T HE REPRESENT THE ARMY TOO?

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT WHEN THEY GOT THOSE TOWS THAT KANGARLU GOT, THEY ALL WENT TO THE REVOLUTIONARY GUARD CORPS.

SECORD: BUT THE QUESTION REMAINS, DO THEY WANT MORE TOWS OR NOT. IF SO, THEY HAVE TO ORDER THEM.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HOW MANY WERE IN THE PROGRAM. THERE WAS ANOTHER 500, WASN'T THERE THAT WE WERE GOING TO SEND... LATER?

NORTH: WE SAID WE'D SEND 500 WITH THE ((ONE WORD MISSED)) I DON'T THINK WE PLANNED ANYTHING, BUT WE HAVE...

SECORD: THE PLAN SAYS ANOTHER 500; WE COULD SEND MORE, IF WE'D GET THE HOSTAGES OUT. IT DEPENDS ON WHAT THEY ORDER?

NORTH: IF YOU GET THE HOSTAGES OUT, WE'LL SEND YOU A MILLION OF THEM. ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS PAY FOR THEM. AND IF YOU GUYS WOULD GET YOUR ACT TOGETHER, WE'D OPEN UP AN FMS ACCOUNT AND YOU'D GET A BETTER PRICE ON THEM.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: IF WE OPEN AN EMBASSY....

BAHRAMANI: ((OBVIOUSLY UNDERSTANDING WHAT NORTH SAID)) NO. ((LAUGHS))

SECORD: BUT IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, THEY WANT TO....

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) IF YOU OPEN ((AN EMBASSY)) THERE, YOU'RE JUST GOING TO CREATE ANOTHER HOSTAGE CRISIS. ((GENERAL LAUGHTER)).

SECORD: IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, THEY'RE GOING TO HAVE TO TELL US. I MEAN THAT'S WHY WE HAVE TO GET TOGETHER. NOW HE SAID AYUB WAS COMING TO LISBON. WE NEVER GOT BACK TO THAT.

CAVE: YOU SAID TO MAKE THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR AYUB TO COME OUT...

NORTH: WELL, DO YOU WANT TO BRING AYUB INTO WASHINGTON?

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI: ((IN PERSIAN)) YES. THERE IS NO PROBLEM WITH THAT.

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CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) BUT FOR THAT SAME THING ((FEW WORDS MISSED))
WHAT DO YOU WANT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) 500 MGRE TOWS OR HAWK
PARTS?

NORTH: WHY DON'T WE JUST BRING HIM TO WASHINGTON INSTEAD OF ((FEW WORDS
MISSED))

BAHRAMANI: ((ANSWERING CAVE'S LAST QUESTION)). NO. THE STIPULATED
PROGRAM HAS TO BE CARRIED OUT. ((REMAINDER MISSED))

CAVE: ((APPARENTLY INTERPRETING THE LAST PART OF BAHRAMANI'S
COMMENT)) THERE IS THAT NINE-POINT PROGRAM?

NORTH: DOWN IN MY ROOM. WANT ME TO GET IT?

CAVE: YEAH. AND IS THERE A PERSIAN COPY OF IT?

SECGRD: WE GAVE HIM ONE. REMEMBER?

CAVE: WE DID?

SECGRD: YEAH.

NORTH: I'M LOCKED OUT OF MY ROOM.

BAHRAMANI: ((MISSED))

SECGRD: ((PORTION MISSED)) I COULD HAVE GONE 15 MINUTES AGO.

NORTH: WELL, YOU OUGHT TO GO.

SECGRD: WHEN IS HE GOING BACK, TOMORROW?

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE'S LEAVING TOMORROW AT TWO.

NORTH: WHY DON'T WE BREAK FOR A FEW MINUTES? [REDACTED] NSC/STA

SECGRD: [REDACTED] NSC/STATE

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI: ((MISSED))

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) BUT SHOULD WAITE GO TO SYRIA OR BEIRUT? ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). NSC/STATE

((ROUND OF EXCHANGES MISSED))

SECGRD: [REDACTED] NSC/STA

NORTH: YEAH.

SECGRD: AND IF HE HAS TO GO TO DAMASCUS, HE GOES ? TO DAMASCUS? Executive Registry

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[REDACTED]

NORTH: ... BACK OUT TO CYPRUS, AND FROM CYPRUS IN.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS, "LET HIM GO THERE. IF THEY TAKE HIM, THEY TAKE HIM." ((BAHRAMANI LAUGHS)).

NORTH: I'M TRYING TO SURVIVE THIS EXPERIENCE. LOOK, UH, [REDACTED] IN TODAY. TOMORROW'S FRIDAY, RIGHT? OTHERWISE I CAN'T GET BACK TO THE STATES TOMORROW. NSC, STATE

SECORD: YOU'RE EXACTLY RIGHT. YOU'VE GOT THAT FIGURED OUT.

NORTH: I WANT TO GET BACK TO THE STATES. I'VE GOT SO MUCH GODDAMN WORK

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ANOTHER THING THAT YOU'VE GOT TO FOLLOW UP ON ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

NORTH: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) SADDAM HUSAIN?

CAVE: YEAH.

NORTH: ONE STEP AT A TIME, MY FRIENDS. OK? ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN TO BAHRAMANI)) DON'T WORRY ABOUT IT.

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) WHAT THEY WANT TO KNOW IS SHOULD THEY MEET WITH THEM/HIM OR NOT?

NORTH: ((ONE OR TWO WORDS MISSED)) YES.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) YES, MEET WITH HIM. NO PROBLEM.

NORTH: AND TELL HIM JUST THE SAME THING THAT WE'RE SAYING.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) DON'T YOU WANT SADDAM TO LEAVE ((POWER))?

BAHRAMANI: OF COURSE. BUT WE DON'T WANT TO ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) WITH THE ARABS. ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

SECORD: IF THE RELATIONSHIP GOES FORWARD LIKE WE ARE TALKING ABOUT--IF ...

BAHRAMANI: ((MISSED))

SECORD: IF IT GOES FORWARD ...

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((TWO WORDS MISSED)) ONE OF THE GUYS THAT THEY WERE SUGGESTING TO TALK... GO TALK TO ((WORD MISSED)) WOULD BE HIM.

NORTH: WHO, HIM? [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

CAVE: YEAH, AND HE SAYS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) A VERY VERY SERIOUS PERSON.

NORTH: HE IS

SECORD: HE'S OK.

NORTH: A VERY SERIOUS PERSON WHO'S GOT OIL ON HIS MIND.

SECORD: NO, HE'S OK. HE'S ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). YOU KNOW HIM PERSONALLY, RIGHT?

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) ((MISSED))

SECORD: ALI, IF THIS THING GOES WELL AND WE GET OUR PEOPLE BACK, WE'LL ((EMPHASIS ON "WE'LL")) TALK TO THE SAUDIS. YOU TALK WITH THEM, WE'LL TALK TO THEM, ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: IT'S GOING TO TAKE A LOT OF TALK. A LOT OF TALK.

CAVE: DO YOU WANT TO TAKE A BREAK NOW?

NORTH: YEAH. I'VE GOT TO MAKE SOME ARRANGEMENTS.

SECORD: WE HAVE TO DO SOME PHONE CALLS.

NORTH: MAYBE HE CAN CALL BACK HOME [REDACTED] HE PROPOSAL

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THEY'RE GOING TO CALL HIM BECAUSE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

NORTH: OK. WE'LL BE BACK. I'VE GOT TO CALL AND MAKE CERTAIN ARRANGEMENTS

[REDACTED] NSC/STATE

CAVE: ONE OF THE THINGS WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO DO ON THIS OTHER THING IS GET ?ABE? ...

NORTH: GET ?ABE? WHAT?

CAVE: ((MISSED))

NORTH: ON WHICH SHIPMENT?

CAVE: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ON THE NEXT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

SECORD: ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) GET THE HAWK PARTS AND GET THE MONEY. HE SAYS THE MONEY'S HERE.

NORTH: THAT'S FINE, ALTHOUGH I DON'T THINK HE'S GOING TO NEED QUITE AS MUCH AS HE SAYS, BECAUSE WITHOUT PART 156 IT'S CONSIDERABLY

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CHEAPER.

BAHRAMANI: CANCEL 156.

NORTH: I'LL BE RIGHT BACK. ((LEAVES THE ROOM.))

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) 156--THE FACTORIES DON'T MAKE THAT ANYMORE.
((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

BAHRAMANI: CANCEL IT.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) ((FEW WORDS MISSED.)) IT'S VERY EXPENSIVE.
EACH ONE OF THEM IS ABOUT \$65,000 AND MORE, MUCH MORE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

BAHRAMANI: WE DON'T WANT IT. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) WE DON'T NEED IT.
WE WANT THE ?WIRE? THAT ATTACHES TO THE HAWK. ITS PRICE IS
8 ((OR 38)) RIALS.

CAVE: ((LAUGHS))

BAHRAMANI: ((MISSED))

((CAVE CALLS ROOM 525 AND BAHRAMANI SPEAKS BRIEFLY ON THE PHONE IN
PERSIAN. CAVE AND BAHRAMANI SPEAK QUIETLY. INAUDIBLE.))

((END TAPE A17))



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((TAPE A18))

((TAPE BEGINS WITH SOUNDS OF SOMEONE MOVING ABOUT THE ROOM; PERSONS CONVERSE IN PERSIAN IN THE BACKGROUND. BAHRAMANI MAKES A TELEPHONE CALL. TELLS SOMEONE TO CALL "THAT PERSON" AND ASK HIM WHETHER OR NOT HE HAD SENT A MESSAGE TO "HIM" (NEI). THERE IS A LONG PAUSE DURING WHICH THE PARTY ON THE OTHER END APPARENTLY MAKES A CALL TO "THAT PERSON" ON ANOTHER PHONE. DURING THE PAUSE, CAVE'S VOICE CAN BE HEARD SPEAKING WITH BAHRAMANI, BUT WHAT HE SAYS IS INAUDIBLE. THEN THE PARTY ON THE OTHER END, APPARENTLY UNSUCCESSFUL IN CONTACTING "THAT PERSON," COMES BACK ON THE PHONE. BAHRAMANI TELLS HIM TO KEEP TRYING TO MAKE THE CONTACT AND THAT HE WILL CALL HIM BACK IN AN HOUR. BAHRAMANI ASKS FOR THE PHONE NUMBER OF ?HAJJI?. BAHRAMANI ASKS ABOUT THE WHEREABOUTS OF MR. SA'ATCHIYAN. THEN SAYS GOOD-BYE.))

SOMEONE, APPARENTLY HAKIM, KNOCKS ON DOOR.

AKIM: WHERE'S RICHARD?

AVE: HE'S MAKING A CALL. THEY HAD TO MAKE A LOT OF CALLS.

((DOOR CLOSING. HAKIM APPARENTLY LEFT THE ROOM.))

((TELEVISION IS TURNED ON. BAHRAMANI MAKES ANOTHER PHONECALL. ASKS FOR MR. SA'ATCHIYAN. HE'S NOT THERE. ASKS IF "HAJJ AGHA" IS THERE. HE SAYS HE JUST GOT HAJJ AGHA'S NUMBER FROM HIS OFFICE AND THAT HIS OFFICE HAD SAID THAT HE WAS SUPPOSED TO BE THERE. HAJJ AGHA HAD LEFT. BAHRAMANI ASKS IF ANY OTHER OF "THE LADS" ARE PRESENT. THEY ARE NOT. BAHRAMANI HANGS UP.))

((BAHRAMANI TELLS CAVE, "HE SAYS TO CANCEL ITEM 156 AND TO ADJUST THE PRICE." CAVE TALKS ABOUT ALBERT REMOVING THE ITEM FROM THE LIST. LONG SILENCE. HUMMING.))

((TAPING IS APPARENTLY INTERRUPTED. WHEN IT RESUMES, SECORD IS TALKING ON THE PHONE))

ECORD: HAS HE CHECKED OUT?.....HE'S STILL LIVING THERE, ISN'T HE?.....WHEN HE RETURNS THIS EVENING.....THANK YOU. ((HANGS UP. THEN, TO SOMEONE IN THE ROOM)) I'M NOT EVEN SURE I'VE GOT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) STILL IN THE OFFICE, BECAUSE I GAVE IT TO LARRY ((PORTION MISSED)) YOU SHOULD TELL HER TO HAVE HIM CALL HER ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). I SHOULD CHECK OUT, BUT YOU'RE NOT GOING TO ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))

((SECORD APPEARS TO BE TALKING TO HAKIM, BUT HAKIM'S RESPONSES ARE INAUDIBLE.))

ECORD: ((AGAIN ON THE PHONE)) HELLO, ?CHERYL?. GOOD MORNING. I WAKE YOU?..... I HAVE TO ASK YOU TO RUSH IN.... I'M CALLING FROM FRANKFURT. I HAVE TO ASK YOU TO RUSH IN TO THE OFFICE FOR ME JUST AS QUICK AS YOU CAN GET THERE AND SEND A TELEX TO ?GRENADI?. YOU KNOW THE, UH, TRASH FIRM...THE TRASH MACHINE FIRM. WE SENT THEM A TELEX LAST WEEK, RIGHT?.....YEAH. SO YOU HAVE THEIR TELEX ADDRESS? OKAY. I HAVE LOST... I HAVEN'T

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LOST, I GAVE THE BROCHURE TO LARRY ROYER ((WORD MISSED))
THERE NOW. AND I'M HUNG UP ON THIS OTHER CLASSIFIED PROJECT.
IT'S JUST TAKEN A CRITICAL TURN, AND I'M NOT GOING... I WAS
SCHEDULED TO GO DOWN THERE THIS AFTERNOON TO JOIN UP WITH THEM.
AND THEY'RE GOING TO MEET MY AIRPLANE, AND I'M NOT GOING TO
BE THERE. SO THE ONLY WAY TO STOP HIM FROM TAKING AN
UNNECESSARY TRIP IS FOR ME TO QUICKLY SEND THEM A TELEX SAYING
THAT I WILL ARRIVE THERE TOMORROW. I WILL CONTACT MR. ROYER
BY TELEPHONE TONIGHT. OKAY? APOLOGIZE PROFUSELY. TELL HIM
I'M NOT COMING ON THE ALITALIA FLIGHT... AS SCHEDULED. AND
I'LL TALK TO YOU LATER THIS AFTERNOON. AND YOU MIGHT ASK HIM
TO ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT AND SEND THEIR TELEPHONE NUMBER. I'D
SURE APPRECIATE IT.....FROM...YEAH...THE SAME GUY?.....
WELL, IT WILL HOLD NOW.... I'M ON A TREMENDOUSLY FAST TRACK
RIGHT NOW, SO I'LL GET BACK TO YOU THIS AFTERNOON. THANK YOU.
GOOD-BYE. ((TO HAKIM)) SHE ((FEW WORDS MISSED. HAKIM LAUGHS))
I KNOW WHAT SHE'S LIKE, DON'T YOU? I'M AFRAID I KNOW. I'M
AFRAID I KNOW THE ANSWER... WHY DON'T YOU WALK WITH ME? I'LL GO
UPSTAIRS AND GET MY BAG. ((DOOR CLOSSES)).

((TAPING POSSIBLY INTERRUPTED AGAIN. CONVERSATION IN BACKGROUND
POSSIBLY CAVE AND HAKIM. HAKIM ASKS ALI BAHRAMANI A QUESTION.
INAUDIBLE. CAVE, HAKIM, AND BAHRAMANI TALK QUIETLY IN PERSIAN.
ONLY ISOLATED PHRASES AUDIBLE.))

((CAVE AND BAHRAMANI TALK ABOUT ITEMS 156 AND 155. ONLY ISOLATED
PHRASES AUDIBLE.))

((END TAPE A18))

((BEGINNING TAPE A19))

((CHATTER CONTINUES BETWEEN HAKIM, BAHRAMANI, AND CAVE--
IN PERSIAN. MOSTLY, INAUDIBLE. THREAD OF CONVERSATION
CANNOT BE FOLLOWED, BUT IT APPEARS TO BE MOSTLY PERSONAL RATHER
THAN BUSINESS RELATED. MUCH JOKING AND LAUGHTER. SECOND
ENTERS THE ROOM. THEN:))

AKIM: DO YOU THINK WE CAN GET THE MESSENGER HERE TO BRING THE
((WORD MISSED)).

AVE: NO. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ?THEY TOOK EFFECT?. I DON'T THINK
THAT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

CORD: NO. LISTEN. WE TALKED ABOUT THIS FOR 15 OR 20 MINUTES.
IT'S NOT POSSIBLE TO GET THE CODES HERE. MOREOVER,
OUR UNITS IN THE UNITED STATES ((WORD MISSED)) CODES
TOO, AND WE DON'T HAVE THEM YET. IN A FEW DAYS WE
WILL HAVE THEM. NOW, THERE'S ANOTHER.... WE HAVE TO
HAVE A MEETING AGAIN....

KIM: THAT'S WHAT I JUST TOLD HIM.

CORD: ... SHORTLY, AND WE WILL HAVE THE CODES INSTALLED. THEY'LL BE
GOOD FOR NINE WEEKS OF OPERATION. ?THEY? WON'T HAVE TO MESS
WITH THEM.

KIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI)).

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SECORD: AND BETWEEN NOW AND NEXT WEEK, WHEN WE GIVE YOU THE SECURE COMMUNICATIONS, WE WILL HAVE TO USE THE GUARDS' CODE. MY GUARDS' CODE.

BAHRAMANI: ((INAUDIBLE))

SECORD: NORTH AND I ARE GOING TO LEAVE VERY SHORTLY. HE KNOWS THIS. AND WE ARE GOING TO GO PICK UP OUR MAN AND TAKE HIM DOWN THERE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI. SAYS NORTH AND SECORD ARE GOING TO BEIRUT.))

SECORD: AND WE WILL COME BACK PROBABLY TOMORROW FROM BEIRUT. AND WE LEAVE THAT GUY THERE, AND THEN IF WE HAVE TO MOVE HIM, THEY'LL MOVE HIM.

BAHRAMANI:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WANTS ME TO GO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH LONDON ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))

SECORD: HE WANTS YOU TO GO?

AKIM: YEAH. BUT I WANT TO ?STAY? HERE.

SECORD: WHEN WILL HE GET BACK? THEN I WILL GO TO LONDON.

AKIM: YOU'LL COME TO LONDON?

SECORD: YEAH. I'LL COME BACK FROM BEIRUT, PROBABLY....

AKIM: HE SAID LET THE GUY DROP YOU OFF IN LONDON. ((FEW WORDS MISSED.)) SCRATCH... TELL HIM TO ((WORD MISSED)) THIS. ((FEW WORDS MISSED))... HOW YOU CAN TAKE A FLIGHT DIRECT TO WASHINGTON AND YOU CAN WAIT FOR ME THERE.

SECORD: OKAY. GOOD. SO I WILL GO TO LONDON, TOO, TOMORROW. IF I SURVIVE BEIRUT TONIGHT, WITH ALL OF THE MORTARS. I'VE GOT TO GET OUT OF THIS BUSINESS. I'M TOO OLD FOR THIS BUSINESS.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

AKIM: ((LAUGHS)) I'M THE SMART ONE. ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

SECORD: DOES HE UNDERSTAND IF WE HAVE TO MOVE THE GUY ?OUT? OUR AMBASSADOR IN ((WORD MISSED.)).

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: NO. THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES REMAINS IN DAMASCUS. HE USED TO WORK FOR ME.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SECORD: ... AND THE U.S. AMBASSADOR IN BEIRUT WORKED FOR ME

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

((SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS GOING ON AT ONCE))

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SECORD: IF WE DON'T GET OUT, IF WE DON'T GET OUT OF THERE, I'LL
MAKE SAM HOLD YOU HERE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

((HAKIM IS MAKING A PHONE CALL TO THE AIRLINE ABOUT THE
CHANGE IN SECORD'S PLANS.))

((CONVERSATION ABOUT GETTING READY TO LEAVE.))

?HAKIM? SO WHAT ARE WE DOING NOW?

SECORD: I'M GOING TO FRANKFURT. THE MAN'S COMING FROM LONDON. WE
WILL MEET HIM AT FRANKFURT. WE WILL GO STRAIGHT TO BEIRUT.
?WE? ARE GOING TO CYPRUS, AND THEN A U.S. ARMY HELICOPTER,
TO BEIRUT.

((MORE CONVERSATION ABOUT TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS. MOSTLY
INAUDIBLE.))

SECORD: WE DIDN'T GIVE HIM THE BILL YET FOR HIS MAPS. VERY EXPENSIVE
PAPER.

CAVE: NEITHER DID I.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR BAHRAMANI. LAUGHTER))

SECORD: DOES HE UNDERSTAND IT'S A BRAND NEW MAP?...THEY'VE NEVER
HAD THESE MAPS BEFORE! THESE ARE ?BRAND? NEW MAPS.

((NORTH ENTERS THE ROOM. MORE CHATTER ABOUT GETTING READY
TO LEAVE.))

NORTH: ALI, IF HE AND I GET TAKEN HOSTAGE IN BEIRUT TONIGHT, YOU GET
TO STAY HERE WITH HIM.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS. LAUGHTER))

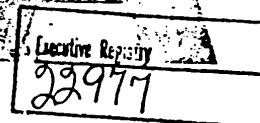
SECORD: WE'LL MAKE A TRADE.

NORTH: THERE'S MORE THAN ONE WAY OF PLAYING THIS GAME.

SECORD: ALI, WE WILL CALL YOU TONIGHT. DID YOU KNOW THAT?

((MUCH CHATTER AND LAUGHTER IN BACKGROUND. ALL
PARTICIPANTS FROM BOTH SIDES SEEM TO BE IN THE ROOM.
THERE IS APPARENTLY AN EXCHANGE OF GIFTS. A PERSIAN
SAYS, IN ENGLISH, "THIS IS FOR YOU." THERE IS A
RUSTLING OF PAPER AND HAKIM SAYS, "THAT'S A PAINTING
OF GOM." THERE IS TALK ABOUT PISTACHIOS. MORE CHATTER.
GOODBYES. DOOR CLOSSES. SILENCE.))

((END TAPE A19))



TOP SECRET

20289

[REDACTED]

NSA

4TH

[REDACTED]

NOFORN

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TAPE 1. (QUALITY--DAD. MIKE POSITION IS SUCH THAT IT IS PICKING UP THE U.S. SIDE FAIRLY WELL, BUT IRANIAN SIDE IS FOR THE MOST PART UNINTELLIGIBLE. AT TIMES, PERHAPS WHEN PARTICIPANTS SIT DOWN, CAN NOT HEAR THE U.S. PARTICIPANTS EITHER.)

INTERPRETERS ARE GEORGE CAVE AND ALBERT HAKIM.

INTRODUCTIONS. SETTING UP OF SCHEDULE. ARRANGING FOR DINNER. PRESENTATION OF GIFTS. INTRODUCTORY PIOUS PLATITUDES.

OCCASIONALLY EVERYONE TALKING AT ONCE. BABEL.

THE MIKE APPEARS TO BE IN THE ROOM OF ONE OF THE PERSIANS. WHEN MEETING IS NOT GOING ON, CAN SOMETIMES HEAR PERSIANS TALKING SOFTLY OR WHISPERING. CAN HEAR AIRPLANES TAKING OFF AND LANDING.

TAPE 2. JUST BACKGROUND NOISE. T.V., DRAWERS AND DOORS CLOSING, ETC.

TAPE 3 BACKGROUND NOISE. FAINT CONVERSATIONS IN PERSIAN OCCASIONALLY, BUT NOT LOUD ENOUGH TO DISCERN EVEN THE SUBJECT MATTER.

AT ROUGHLY MID-POINT IN TAPE, SOME AMERICANS ENTER AND BEGIN TO CHAT. ORDERING LUNCH FROM ROOM SERVICE.

TAPE 4. CHATTER. RE HASHISH, TOBACCO, TRIP BY ONE OF PERSIANS TO AFGHANISTAN. (ONE WHO WAS FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY GUARD CORPS.) WAS IN IRAQ WITH KHOSRO BARZANI, ONE OF MAS'UD BARZANI'S MEN. TELLS OF TRAVELS IN IRAQ WITH BARZANI KURDS.

LUNCH ARRIVES. CHATTER. JOKES. THEN THE REAL TALKS BEGIN RATHER SUDDENLY, AS FOLLOWS:

NORTH: THE REAL PROBLEM IS I NEED TO MAKE A REPORT BACK BEFORE HE (PRESIDENT REAGAN) LEAVES (FOR ICELAND) ON THURSDAY. THE TALKS ARE ON THE 10TH AND THE 11TH.

HAKIM: I BELIEVE THAT MR. SAMII HAS THIS RESPONSE TO YOUR STATEMENT

NORTH: AND I WANT TO HEAR THAT, BUT I WANT TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THERE IS A FAIR AMOUNT OF ANXIETY ON OUR SIDE AS TO WHETHER OR NOT WE ARE HEADED IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. OUR GOAL AS WE SAID IN THE MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON--AND WHAT I SAID WHEN I WAS IN TEHRAN--AND MACFARLANE SAID IN TEHRAN-- OUR GOAL IS A STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP WITH, BETWEEN THE U.S. AND IRAN IN WHICH WE CAN END THE WAR ON HONORABLE TERMS. PRESERVE THE TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY. RECOGNIZING THAT THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION IS INDEED FACT, AND GET ON WITH PROTECTING YOUR INTERESTS AND OURS IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD. AND TO DO IT ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY, OF COURSE.

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PROMPTING.))

SAMII:

HAKIM:

BEFORE HE WANTS TO START THE DISCUSSIONS TONIGHT, TO THE LEVEL OF ESTABLISHING THE CASE, AND AN AN INTRODUCTION, HE RESPONDS TO THE STATEMENT THAT YOU MADE AND HE WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT ??IT HAS BEEN?? THE CONTENTION BECAUSE THEY FULLY RECOGNIZE HOW SENSITIVE THIS ISSUE IS. THEREFORE HE WANTS TO GO ABOUT AN INTRODUCTION OF WHO HE IS AND WHO THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY ARE DOING TO THE LEVEL THAT HE CAN.

SAMII:

HAKIM:

FROM THE EARLY STAGES OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE TWO COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY THIS GROUP THAT THEY SAW TRACES OF DEEP INTEREST IN ESTABLISHING THE RELATIONSHIP AND THEY HAVE ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO OBSERVE AND STUDY THE RELATIONSHIP. THEY GAVE IT VALUABLE CLASSIFICATION. THEY CLASSIFIED IT AS A VALUED EFFORT.

SAMII:

HAKIM:

THE SPARKS OF THE RELATIONSHIP WAS A LITTLE BIT TOO MUCH FOR THE DEPTH OF THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTED.

CAVE:

WHAT HE MEANS IS THAT THERE WAS A DIFFERENCE IN THE SPEED; I.E., THEY PERCEIVE THINGS GOING AHEAD ON A PACE FAR GREATER THAN THEY COULD COMPREHEND OR TAKE INTO ACCOUNT.

SECOND:

THE SPARKS WERE MORE A GLOW THAN A FOUNDATION. THERE WAS NO FOUNDATION FOR THAT MUCH SPARK.

SAMII:

HAKIM:

AS YOU KNOW, THE RELATIONSHIP GOES FAR BACK AND HAS BEEN PERIPHERAL... THE EFFORTS FOR THE RELATIONSHIP GOES AS FAR BACK AS RAZA RA'AD IN LEBANON.

SECOND: RA'AD WAS A FRENCH ***** HE HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH US.

SAMII: I KNOW THAT HE IS NOT WORKING FOR YOU. BUT HIS EFFORTS WERE THE BEGINNING OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WESTERN WORLD.

HAKIM:

ALI, ONE POINT THAT I WOULD REALLY LIKE EVERYONE HERE TO FOCUS ON AS TO WHERE MR. SAMII IS GOING IN GIVING YOU THE HISTORY OF HOW THE OPENING INTO THE WESTERN WORLD STARTED, AND WHERE HE PERSONALLY WAS AND WHY HE IS HERE. ALONG THE LINE OF INTRODUCING HIMSELF AS TO WHO HE IS. ((INTERPRETS THIS FOR ALI BAHRAHANI.)) HE WAS INVOLVED FROM RA'AD'S TIME.

SAMII:

HAKIM:

THEN FRANCE MADE EFFORTS THROUGH ITS REPRESENTATION IN ONE OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES, I THINK IT WAS TUNISIA.

SAMII:

HAKIM:

THEN TERRY WAITE CAME INTO THE PICTURE.

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[REDACTED]

SAMII: HE WAS IN CONTACT WITH SADAATIAN, RIGHT? ((SADAATIAN IS)) IRAN'S AMBASSADOR IN LONDON.

CAVE:

HAKIM:

RIGHT.
I WANT TO FOCUS AGAIN WHERE HE IS GOING. AND HE WILL COME BACK AND SUM UP. OKAY?

SAMII

THEN VARIOUS NATIONS BEGAN TO PARTICIPATE: JAPAN, PAKISTAN, TURKEY ETC. THE UPSHOT OF THIS WAS THAT --- AND THE FIRST POINT OF CONTACT WITH THE EFFORTS WHICH GHORBANIFAR AND KANGARLU MADE WITH YOU--THE FIRST LINES OF CONTACT WERE ESTABLISHED, AND THE FIRST MEETINGS WERE BEGUN. OF COURSE, I KNOW THAT IN THE VISIT WHICH MR. HASHEMI ((RAESANJANI)) MADE TO JAPAN, THERE WERE EFFORTS MADE ALSO, BUT, AT ANY RATE, THEY WERE DEFERRED BECAUSE OF VARIOUS PROBLEMS. STATE

HAKIM:

THE RESULT OF ALL THESE EFFORTS THAT HE REFERRED TO AND THE INVOLVEMENT OF GHORBANIFAR AND KANGARLU AND OUR GROUP, ALL THESE CAUSED THE CREATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP AS IT DID AND AS YOU ARE AWARE, AND IN ADDITION TO THAT THE TRIP OF MR. HASHEMI TO JAPAN STILL IS UNDER CONSIDERATION PENDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CERTAIN ISSUES. STATE

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE SAYS YOU MUST UNDERSTAND AND RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT WHEN ALL THE ISSUES ARE IN PROCESS

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE SAYS YOU WILL RECOGNIZE THAT WHEN ALL THESE ARE HAPPENING THE DIFFERENT EFFORTS OF ESTABLISHING THE RELATIONSHIP IT IS ONLY PROPER FOR THEIR GOVERNMENT TO CREATE A COOPERATIVE OR A HEADQUARTER TO NOT ONLY EVALUATE ALL THESE EFFORTS BUT ALSO LEARN ENOUGH ABOUT THEM THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO CHOOSE OUT OF ALL THESE THE BEST ROUTE ***** HAS IS THAT NOT ONLY THESE WERE TO BE EVALUATED THESE EFFORTS BUT ALSO CURRENT EVENTS THAT CREATED QUESTIONS WITHIN THE NATION SUCH AS THE CONTACTS OF (H. K.) WITH THE YOUNG SHAH AS HIS CONSULTANT. HE'S

CAVE: AN ADVISOR REALLY.

HAKIM: THESE HAD TO BE ALSO EVALUATED.

CAVE: THEY HAD A SERIOUS PROBLEM IN ASSESSING ... IN OTHER WORDS THEY CREATED A GROUP TO TRY TO ASSESS ALL THIS BUT THEY HAD A SERIOUS PROBLEM IN ASSESSING THE VARIOUS OVERTURES TOGETHER WITH SUCH THINGS LIKE AIDING THE YOUNG SHAH.

SAMII:

HAKIM: IN THE PROCESS OF SELECTING AND HANDPICK THE CREAM OF THE CROP OF THESE OVERTURES AND ALSO EVALUATING THE VARIOUS EVENTS, AS HE IS SURE WE ARE AWARE OF, THEY CAME TO A DEFINITE CONCLUSION THAT THE BEST WAY TO APPROACH THIS WOULD BE TO HAVE A DIRECT CONTACT BECAUSE THIS WOULD ELIMINATE ALL MISUNDERSTANDINGS, MISINTERPRETATION ALL INTERSECTION OF ((END OF TAPE))

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TAPE 5

HAKIM: TRANSFERRING INFORMATION FROM ONE PARTY TO ANOTHER.

SAMII:

HAKIM: TO ACHIEVE THIS, THAT IS REFERRING TO THE DIRECT CONTACT THEY HAD TO START SOMEPLACE. THE NATURAL PLACE TO START WAS TO CHOOSE AN AREA THAT THERE WAS COMMON INTEREST. IT WAS AN AREA THAT WOULD ELIMINATE THE NEED OF GOING BACK AND ANALYZING AND TRYING TO EVALUATE OR NEGOTIATE OR RESOLVE THE HUGE AND DEEP DIFFERENCES.

SAMII:

HAKIM: YOU CAN WELL UNDERSTAND THAT LIKE THAT YOU WERE ALSO MAKING SIMILAR EFFORT IN CHOOSING THE RIGHT SEGMENT OF THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT FOR YOUR CONTACT THEY HAD TO DO THE SAME EVALUATION AS TO WHICH WAY TO GO ABOUT ESTABLISHING THEIR CONTACT

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE SAYS HE CAN'T DESCRIBE HOW MUCH IN COMMON WE HAVE IN COMMON BUT HERE COMES THE DIFFERENCES THERE ARE. THEY HAD A HANDICAP THAT WE DIDN'T. WHAT YOU NEEDED FROM THEM WERE NOT COMPLETELY WITHIN THEIR REACH. IT WAS AT A DISTANCE AND EVERYTHING THAT YOU HAD THAT THEY WANTED YOU HAD IT IN YOUR REACH BUT THEY RECOGNIZED THAT THERE WERE OTHER HANDS THAT WOULD NOT PERMIT YOU TO HAND THESE THINGS OUT TO THEM AS YOU WISHED, BUT AT LEAST THEY WERE WITHIN YOUR REACH AND WHAT YOU WANTED THEY WERE NOT WITHIN THEIR REACH.

SAMII:

HAKIM: THEY COULD ONLY DEMONSTRATE THAT THEY WILL DO THE BEST THEY COULD DO IN THE AREAS THAT THEY HAVE INFLUENCE AND YOU CAN WELL SAY THAT YOU WITNESS THEIR EFFORT IN THE AREA THAT IN LEBANON WHERE THEY HAD SOME INFLUENCE

SAMII:

HAKIM: AND THEY ALSO RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULTIES THAT WE HAD AND WHAT WE HAD TO GO THROUGH AND THE GENUINE EFFORT THAT WE SHOWED IN ESTABLISHING THIS RELATIONSHIP AND HE WANTS TO MAKE A POINT THAT IF WE CAN NOT COME OUT AND SAY THAT WE CAN TOUCH THE PROBLEMS THAT WE HAD TO GO THROUGH. BUT HE CAN DEFINITELY SAY THAT THEY HAVE A GOOD UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS THAT WE HAD TO GO THROUGH. AS A MATTER OF FACT THEY WERE WATCHING THESE EFFORTS THROUGH MAGNIFYING GLASS.

SAMII:

HAKIM: IN EVALUATING OUR EFFORTS ***** PREPARED AND GENUINELY WANTING TO ESTABLISH THIS RELATIONSHIP, THEY WENT NOT ONLY TO THE EXTENT OF ACCUMULATING THE VARIOUS SIGNS THAT WE WERE SENDING THEM THROUGH DIFFERENT SOURCES BUT THEY WENT THROUGH SUCH DETAIL OF EVALUATING THE VERBAGE THE TERMINOLOGY USED IN SENDING THOSE MESSAGES IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND US BETTER

CAME:

SPECIALLY THE LETTERS OF THE JAPANESE (ACTUALLY SHOULD

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[REDACTED]

HAKIM: AND HE USED JAPAN AS AN EXAMPLE

SAMII:

HAKIM:

IN THIS EVALUATION THEY WANTED TO MAKE SURE THAT THE RELATIONSHIP WOULD NOT DEVELOP LIKE IT WOULD BETWEEN TWO MERCHANTS AND YOU HAD TO START TRADING AND DEALING WITH EACH OTHER. THEY WANTED TO MAKE SURE THE RELATIONSHIP WOULD BE ESTABLISHED AT A LEVEL THAT YOUR OBJECTIVES AND GOAL WOULD BE SOMETHING BEYOND AND HIGHER THAN TRADING.

CAVE: BE OF GREATER VALUE

HAKIM: GREATER VALUE

ALI:

HAKIM: ALI WANTS TO SUPPORT WHAT MR. SAMII HAS BEEN SAYING. HE SAID WHEN HE GOT THE ASSIGNMENT OF EVALUATING ALL THE EVENTS OF THE PAST AND STARTED WITH*****THE FILES AND READ EVERYTHING, AND GET THE INFO FROM MR. SAMII, HE DEFINITELY CAME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE RELATIONSHIP WAS AT THE LEVEL OF TWO MERCHANTS, AND HE WANTS TO ESTABLISH *****THAT MR. SAMII OUTDID HIMSELF ESPECIALLY DURING THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS TO MAKE THE LEADERS OF THEIR COUNTRY UNDERSTAND THAT THIS IS WRONG TO HAVE A RELATIONSHIP ON THE LEVEL OF MERCHANTS AND WANTS TO LOOK UP TO A RELATIONSHIP THAT IS MORE VALUABLE AND EFFECTIVE. DID I MISS ANYTHING?

CAVE: NO. HE WANTS TO MAKE CLEAR THAT EVEN IN THE LAST LETTER THEY DIDN'T LIKE THE MERCHANT TONE OF IT--THE "YOU DO THIS, WE DO THAT." THEY WANT TO GET AWAY FROM THAT. THEY WANT TO JUST UNDERSTAND.

SE: WHICH LETTER?

CAVE: WELL, THE THING WE DID IN TEHRAN. THEY WANT US TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEY WANT THIS TO BE SOMETHING MORE THAN JUST...

HAKIM: IT IS NOT ?CRITICISM?, IT IS OBSERVATION.

CAVE: NO. THEY ARE NOT CRITICIZING.

HAKIM: THEY SAY THAT THEY UNDERSTAND THE EVOLUTION.... I'M PRIVILEGED A LITTLE BIT, ALI, BECAUSE WE HAD A LITTLE BIT MORE TIME TO CHAT THAN *****WE WENT THROUGH THIS. THEY FULLY RECOGNIZE AND APPRECIATE VERY MUCH THE EFFORTS OF ALL PEOPLE THAT HAVE DONE EVERYTHING THAT THEY HAVE DONE, INCLUDING GHORBANIFAR, AND EVEN THE WAY HE HAS DONE IT. KANGARLU AND SO ON.

?SECOND?: I'M NOT SURE I APPRECIATE GHORBANIFAR QUITE SO MUCH.

HAKIM: NO, BUT THEY DO. THEY SAID THAT *****THIS AFTERNOON HE TOLD ME, THE HAV BEING IN THE SITUATION THAT HE WAS, AND HAVING THE GUYS TO COME TO IRAN, AND FOR THEM TO ACCOMMODATE HIM. THEY GIVE A LOT OF VALUE TO THIS. BUT, HAS REACHED A POINT THAT THAT RELATIONSHIP CANNOT BEAR FRUIT ANY MORE. IT HAS TO EVOLVE TO THE NEXT STAGE.

CAVE: WHEN, PASS THE TEST!

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HAKIM: ((IN PERSIAN)) HE AGREES BY SAYING, "AMEN." ((EXPLAINS THE PRECEDING COMMENTS IN PERSIAN.))

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE SAYS PLEASE TO UNDERSTAND, IT'S VERY IMPORTANT, APPARENTLY TO CHANGE THE DIRECTION--THIS IS MY UNDERSTANDING--TO WHAT THEY INTEND TO ESTABLISH NOW FROM HERE ON, HAS BEEN A VERY HARD TASK TO CONVINCE ALL PEOPLE CONCERNED THAT THE ATTITUDE SHOULD NOT BE ON THE BASIS OF TWO POINTS, TRADING AND ***** IT SHOULD INVOLVE A DIFFERENT LEVEL, LOOKING AT MORE VALUABLE RELATIONS?

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE WANTS TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THE WAY THE CURRENTS WERE IN MOTION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, THE ONLY WAY THAT YOU COULD HAVE BRIDGED BETWEEN THESE TWO CURRENTS WOULD HAVE BEEN THROUGH CATALYZERS AND INTERMEDIARIES SUCH AS KANGARLU AND GHORBANIFAR TO BRING SUCH A DYNAMIC CURRENT TOGETHER. THAT IS WHY HE SETS A LOT OF VALUE TO WHAT THESE PEOPLE HAVE DONE.

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE WANTS YOU TO KNOW THAT HE IS THE SPECIAL--UNDERLINE SPECIAL-- EXTRA-SPECIAL--EXTRAORDINARY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COOPERATIVE THAT HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO DEAL WITH THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S.

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE RECOGNIZES AND UNDERSTANDS THAT THERE ARE SENSITIVE QUESTIONS IN OUR MIND THAT WHO IS THIS COOPERATIVE. DOES THIS REPRESENT A SMALL PART OF THE NATION, A BIGGER PART? WHAT PERCENTAGE OF IT, WHO REALLY THEY ARE, AND WHAT THEIR AUTHORITIES ARE? THE ONLY WAY HE CAN ANSWER YOUR QUESTION IS THE FOLLOWING MANNER: THAT STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO CENTRALIZE THIS EFFORT. THEY DO NOT WANT TO HIDE THAT THERE ARE ENEMIES THAT DO NOT WISH TO SEE THIS TAKE PLACE, AND THERE ARE BIG PROBLEMS THAT THEY HAVE TO RESOLVE AND THEY REG US FOR OUR RECOGNITION OF THESE DIFFICULTIES. BUT HE ASSURES US THAT THIS GROUP IS WILLING TO OVERCOME THESE DIFFICULTIES AND THEY WILL DO THEIR UTMOST TO OVERCOME THEM.

CAVE:

THERE ARE TWO POINTS HERE: WHAT HE'S SAYING IS THAT WE REALIZE THAT YOU HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT WHO IS REALLY REPRESENTED IN THIS EFFORT IN THE GOVERNMENT. WE WANT YOU TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE GOVERNMENT--THE SENIOR GOVERNING BODY OF THE GOVERNMENT--IS BEHIND THIS, BUT THERE ARE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT THAT OPPOSE THIS. FOR THIS REASON, WE HAVE GOT TO KEEP THIS ABSOLUTELY SECRET UNTIL WE REACH A LEVEL, A STAGE, WHERE IT CAN BE BROUGHT OUT IN THE OPEN. IT CAN BLOOM, AND HE REGS OUR UNDERSTANDING ON THIS POINT.

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE MUST HAVE A FEEL FOR THE FACT THAT GHORBANIFAR, WANTING TO GET THIS THING CONCLUDED FASTER, HAS MADE MISTAKES.

SAMII:

HAKIM:

FOR EXAMPLE, ONE EFFORT THAT WENT INTO BRINGING THE DELEGATION THAT CAME TO VISIT AT THAT LEVEL, IT WAS A MISTAKE BECAUSE REALLY

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THE EFFORT WAS TO CAPTURE THE SPEED OF TIME, AND THAT WAS A FAILURE. WHAT HE IS TRYING TO SAY IS THAT WE ARE TRYING TO USE A PRESSURE COOKER TO HAVE THE FRUIT RIPE, AND THAT WAS A MISTAKE.

ALI:

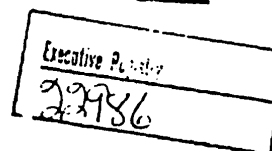
HAKIM: HE SAYS IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO KNOW THIS. THIS TEAM OF MR. SAMII, WHO WAS THE PIONEER IN ESTABLISHING THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST, WAS ... AND HAD REPORTED IN WRITING AND HE REVIEWED THE FILE AND HE SAW THERE THAT HE WAS AGAINST HAVING THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THAT DELEGATION TO COME TO IRAN AT THAT TIME, AND ALI WAS AMAZED HOW HIS EVALUATION OF MR. SAMII AT SUCH A TIME PROVED TO BE CLOSE TO THE FACT.

ALI:

HAKIM: HE REFERS TO A PERSONAL ISSUE IN TEHRAN. HE SAYS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF AN IRANIAN, WHEN YOU WERE THERE THEY THOUGHT THAT THEY WERE GOOD HOSTS. HOWEVER THEY COULD NOT CONSIDER THEMSELVES AS BEING SEASONED DIPLOMATS AND HE HOPES THAT YOU RECOGNIZE THIS.

SECORD?: I THINK THAT IS IMPORTANT

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HAKIM: HE REFERS TO A PERSONAL ISSUE IN TEHRAN. HE SAYS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF AN IRANIAN, WHEN YOU WERE THERE THEY THOUGHT THAT THEY WERE GOOD HOSTS. HOWEVER THEY COULD NOT CONSIDER THEMSELVES AS BEING SEASONED DIPLOMATS AND HE HOPES THAT YOU RECOGNIZE THIS.

NORTH: COULD I ANSWER THAT RIGHT NOW, BECAUSE I THINK THAT'S IMPORTANT.

((INAUDIBLE))

NORTH: THE PROBLEM THAT DEVELOPED OVER OUR PERCEPTION OF THAT VISIT WAS WHAT WE WERE TOLD BEFORE WE CAME. OKAY? AND THE INSULT THAT WAS PERCEIVED BY THE PRESIDENT WAS NOT IN YOUR PERSONAL HOSPITALITY. THE ROOMS WERE VERY COMFORTABLE. YOU ARE A COUNTRY AT WAR. THOSE OF US WHO CAME ON THAT MISSION UNDERSTAND THAT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WE WERE TOLD THAT, AND AGAIN THIS WAS THE PROBLEM OF HAVING TO DEAL THROUGH OTHERS TO TRY AND ESTABLISH EXACTLY WHO WE WERE MEETING WITH. WE WERE TOLD THAT WE WOULD BE COMING TO TEHRAN AND WE WOULD MEET WITH SPEAKER RAFSANJANI, PRIME MINISTER MUSAVI, PRESIDENT KHAMENEI AND SO ON. WHEN THE PRESIDENT SAID TO ME, AND HE WAS VERY UPSET, HE SAID, ---AND I VERY NEARLY GOT FIRED, WHEN IT WAS FINISHED--- BECAUSE I HAD ENCOURAGED HIM TO BRING MACFARLANE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII:

CAVE: HE SAYS THAT YOU DON'T RECOGNIZE THAT YOU WERE VERY CLOSE TO BEING RELAXED OF ALL THESE PROBLEMS. ((LAUGHTER))

NORTH: THERE WAS ONE POINT WHERE I WAS GOING TO VOLUNTEER TO STAY. ((LAUGHTER)). I HAVE KNOWN MACFARLANE FOR 17 YEARS, AND SO IN ADDITION TO BEING PROFESSIONALLY VERY CLOSE, WE ARE PERSONALLY VERY CLOSE. BUT ON THE THIRD DAY, HE CALLED ME INTO HIS ROOM--- MAYBE YOU GUYS HEARD THIS---HE SAID TO ME, "LISTEN, YOU S.O.B., YOU BETTER HOPE THAT THEY ASK FOR A HOSTAGE TO STAY, BECAUSE I NOMINATE YOU. AND GIVEN THE WAY THIS HAS GONE, I'LL STAY WITH YOU." ((MORE ALONG THE SAME LINE IN A JOVIAL VEIN ABOUT MACFARLANE'S DREAD OF TELLING THE PRESIDENT THAT THE DELEGATION HAD NOT MET WITH HIGH-RANKING IRANIAN OFFICIALS, AS HAD BEEN PROMISED BY GHORBANIFAR.))

SAMII:

HAKIM: I DIDN'T GET A CHANCE TO.... I GOT OFF THE TRACK, AND I DIDN'T TRANSLATE THE MAIN ISSUE THAT YOU WERE TRYING TO PUT ACROSS THAT ALL THIS HAPPENED BECAUSE THERE WAS NO DIRECT CONTACT. HE CONCLUDED THAT. ALL OF THIS HAPPENED BECAUSE YOU WERE WORKING THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES.

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE SAYS FOR THE NEXT TIME, HE CAN HAVE ?NO? ARGUMENT AS TO WHO IS GOING TO BE KEPT AS HOSTAGE IN IRAN. ((LAUGHTER)) BECAUSE THERE

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SAMII:

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) ON THE LAST DAY MACFARLANE TOLD ME, "SAM, I HOPE YOU KNOW THE MULLA TRADE, BECAUSE YOU MIGHT HAVE TO REMAIN HERE."
((LAUGHTER))

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE SAID IF HE WERE INVOLVED, HE WOULD HAVE CAUSED KHAMENE'I AND ALL THESE PEOPLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MEETING. I SAID, THANK GOD THAT YOU WERE NOT INVOLVED AND THOSE PEOPLE DID NOT PARTICIPATE, BECAUSE IF THEY WOULD HAVE, THE DIFFERENCES WOULD HAVE APPEARED AND BECOME VERY EVIDENT, AND THEN YOU HAVE NO MORE THE EXCUSE THAT YOU DIDN'T MEET WITH THE GOVERNING LEVEL, AND HE WOULD NOT BE SITTING HERE TODAY.

NORTH?: WELL, THAT'S BESIDE THE POINT. WE RECOGNIZE THAT INSIDE YOUR GOVERNMENT THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO ARE OPPOSED TO THIS RELATIONSHIP. THE SAME THING APPLIES INSIDE OUR GOVERNMENT. AND WHEN YOU CAME AND VISITED US, EVEN AT THE WHITE HOUSE, WHERE THE PRESIDENT LIVES AND WORKS, WE HAD TO BE VERY CAREFUL ABOUT WHO KNEW EXACTLY WHAT WAS GOING ON.

((HAKIM TRANSLATES.))

NORTH: WHEN WE WERE IN TEHRAN, THE REASON THAT THE MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING THAT WE DRAFTED THAT NIGHT WAS DRAFTED THE WAY IT WAS, WAS BECAUSE WE THOUGHT THAT THAT WAS GOING TO HELP MOVE THAT PROCESS ALONG, AND BECAUSE WE THOUGHT THAT THAT WAS WHAT YOU WANTED US TO DO.

CAVE: WELL, GHORBANIFAR LED US TO BELIEVE THAT....

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND SO I'M SURE IT WAS OBVIOUS TO YOU AFTER WE HAD BEEN THERE FOR A WHILE--YOU KNOW I COULD SEE ALL OF THIS WORK GONE TOWARD THE OBJECTIVE THAT I THINK EVERYBODY IN THIS ROOM WANTS TO ACHIEVE, AND THAT IS A STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. BUT OVER THERE, AFTER THE SECOND DAY, I COULD SEE THAT IT WAS GOING DOWN HILL PRETTY QUICKLY. AND I BECAME VERY DESPONDENT. AND AFTER WE RETURNED TO WASHINGTON, THAT MORNING MACFARLANE AND I BRIEFED THE PRESIDENT, AND THE NEXT DAY WE HAD A MEETING IN WHICH TWO OF THE PRESIDENT'S VERY SENIOR ADVISORS, SHULTZ AND WEINBERGER SAID, "STOP IT. DON'T GO ANY FURTHER." WHICH HE AND SHULTZ, IN THE MEETING IN THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE, SAW, AND YOU'RE WELCOME TO COME THE NEXT TIME--SHULTZ POINTED OVER TO ME AND SAID, "WE HAVE TO STOP THIS. HE ((NORTH)) DOESN'T KNOW WHO THE HELL WE'RE TALKING TO. IT'S NOT THE WAY TO GO. I WILL MAKE SURE WE GO BACK THROUGH THE JAPANESE AGAIN." AND IN TRYING TO SAVE MY JOB, I SAID, "WELL YOU KNOW THAT THE PAKISTANI FOREIGN MINISTER, YA'GHUB KHAN, WILL BE HERE IN A MATTER OF DAYS. WHY DON'T WE USE HIM TOO?"

HAKIM: ((TRANSLATES. PLUS AN EXPLANATION THAT NORTH HAD MADE THIRTEEN SUGGESTIONS SO THAT THE EFFORTS OF THE PREVIOUS FEW YEARS WOULD NOT BE WASTED.))

ORTH: SO WHAT WE DID WAS THAT WHEN THE PRESIDENT WENT TO JAPAN, FOR THE

ECONOMIC SUMMIT. HE PERSONALLY -- I HAD GONE TO THE JAPANESE AS A VERY SPECIAL EMISSARY TO TALK TO MIAKI AND THEN WHEN THE PRESIDENT WENT TO JAPAN, TO TOKYO, HE TALKED DIRECTLY TO NAKASONE AGAIN.

HAKIM: ((IN PERSIAN)) AND THIS WAS SO EFFECTIVE THAT HE WENT AS A SPECIAL EMISSARY TO JAPAN. HE WENT TO MIAKI.

NORTH: MIAKI IS THE ONE WHO CAME TO TEHRAN.

HAKIM: ((IN PERSIAN)). HE WENT TO MIAKI AND TALKED WITH HIM. AND THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF, WHEN HE WENT TO THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT, TALKED DIRECTLY....

NORTH: MIAKI IS THE DIRECTOR, GENERAL OF THEIR FOREIGN MINISTRY. HE WENT IN A COMMERCIAL TRADE MISSION TO TEHRAN. MIAKI WAS THE SENIOR JAPANESE DIPLOMAT ON THAT MISSION. OH, NO. HE WAS THE NUMBER TWO. AND HE TALKED TO FOREIGN MINISTER VELAYATI. SEVERAL WEEKS LATER, YA'GHUB KHAN, FROM PAKISTAN, WAS IN WASHINGTON. WE GAVE HIM EXACTLY THE SAME MESSAGE THAT WE GAVE MIAKI.

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HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND I GAVE YOU A COPY OF THE TEXT OF WHAT WE GAVE BOTH OF THEM.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE HAS READ THOSE.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT WHEN HE ***** TO FOCUSING ON THE EVEN ON THE CHOICE OF THE WORDS, WHEN HE HEARD ****, HE SAID THAT HE WAS REFERRING TO THOSE LETTERS.

NORTH: THE LETTERS WERE THE SAME, YES? UNLESS THE JAPANESE SCREWED IT UP IN TRANSLATION.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII: ((INAUDIBLE))

HAKIM: HE SAYS THAT HE'S AFRAID THAT THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING, THERE WILL BE A ROOM FULL OF FILES, BUT THEY ARE ALL PHILOSOPHICAL. ((LAUGHTER)).

ORTH: THE PROBLEM THAT WE HAVE NOW, AS I SEE IT, -- WE'LL GO BACK TO PHILOSOPHY AGAIN, IF YOU WISH-- WE HAVE A VERY PRACTICAL PROBLEM. WE HAVE ...

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

ORTH: THE JAPANESE, THE PAKISTANIS, AND KANGARLU ALL KEEP ASKING US "WELL, WHAT DO YOU WANT US TO DO NOW?"

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

ORTH: JUST ON FRIDAY, THE JAPANESE CAME IN TO ME AND SAID, "WELL,

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WE'LL GO BACK AND DELIVER ANOTHER MESSAGE.
((LAUGHTER))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND THEN THEY SAID, "OH, THEN YOU DO HAVE CONTACTS?" AND I SAID, "OH, NO, NO, NO." ((LAUGHTER)). AND THEY SAID, "OKAY, THEN WE WILL GO BACK AND TALK AGAIN." ((MORE ALONG THIS LINE.))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AT THE SAME TIME, THE PAKISTANIS, WHOM WE ARE WORKING WITH BECAUSE OF THE HIJACKING, HAVE COME IN TO SEE ME AND SAID, "WELL, DID YOU MAKE CONTACT? WE DELIVERED THE MESSAGE." AND I SAID, "THANK YOU." ((LAUGHTER)) AND THEY SAID, "WELL, ARE YOU IN CONTACT YET?" AND I SAID, "WELL, NO, NOT YET." AND THE PAKISTANIS --- THIS IS THEIR AMBASSADOR --- "WELL, WE THOUGHT YOU WERE IN CONTACT." AND I SAID, "OH, NO, NO." STATE

END OF TAPE FIVE

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HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND HE SAID THAT'S VERY STRANGE BECAUSE HE OBVIOUSLY THOUGHT THAT THERE WAS A CONTACT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE SAYS THAT THIS IS SOMETHING THAT HAS TO BE EVALUATED. THAT ONE OF THE THINGS THAT YOU SHOULD PUT IN YOUR COMPUTER IS THAT THE REASON THAT HE FOUND IT STRANGE WAS BECAUSE OF THE REACTION OF IRAN FOR NOT ACCEPTING ??THE AIRPLANE?? TO GO THERE.

NORTH: OKAY. ON TOP OF THOSE TWO, THE FRENCH INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IS LISTENING TO GHORBANIFAR. GHORBANIFAR IS TALKING TO KANGARLU. THE DEPUTY IN CHARGE OF OPERATIONS FOR THE FRENCH INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IS A LONG-TIME FRIEND.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WHEN I WAS IN PARIS LAST WEEK, IN TRYING TO HELP THEM WITH ALL THE BOMBINGS AND EVERYTHING, HE TOOK ME ASIDE AND SAID, "MY FRIEND, YOUR FRIEND GHORBANIFAR AND THE IRANIANS ARE GOING TO SEND YOU TO JAIL."

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND I SAID, "WHAT DO YOU MEAN?" HE SAID, "WELL, IT'S EITHER YOU ARE GOING TO GO TO JAIL, OR YOU'RE GOING TO GET A MEDAL, BECAUSE WHAT YOU ARE DOING ABOUT THE HOSTAGES WILL EITHER GET YOU LOCKED UP OR PROMOTED."

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

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JORTH: AND I SAID, "I DON'T KNOW WHAT YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT. LET'S GO BACK TO WORK ON BOMBINGS."

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

JORTH: ALL OF THIS TELLS ME.....AND THE SAME THING IS BASICALLY THE SAME FROM THE BRITISH.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

JORTH: ALL OF THIS TELLS ME THAT THERE ARE MANY, MANY PEOPLE WHO ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY AWARE AND CREATING BIGGER VULNERABILITIES.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS, ADDING HIS OWN COMMENT ON THE NEED FOR PROMPT ACTION TO BRING UNDER CONTROL ALL OF THE PHONE CALLS.))

JORTH: YES, THAT'S A PART OF IT. BUT IN A BROADER SENSE, IF WE GO BACK TO PHILOSOPHY, IN THE BROADER SENSE, WE HAVE GOT TO GET THIS THING MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, SENSIBLY, BEFORE IT LEAKS OUT.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) ((HIS INTERPRETATION HAD A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT SLANT, IN THAT HE SAID, "SOONER OR LATER THIS THING IS GOING TO BE EXPOSED. AND IF OUR ACTIONS ARE NOT ON A FIRM AND PROPER COURSE BEFORE IT IS EXPOSED, WE WILL NOT GET ANYWHERE.))

AVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) WE HAVE TO BE CAREFUL TO KEEP OUR DEALINGS SECRET-- TO KEEP THEM FROM BEING DISCOVERED.

AMII:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) IN THIS MEETING MR. SAMII IS SURE THAT ALL THESE ISSUES WILL BE DISCUSSED AND TAKEN CARE OF. THAT IS, THE TELEPHONE CALLS AND ALSO ESTABLISHING A VERY PROFESSIONAL WAY OF CONTINUING WITH OUR RELATIONSHIP.

AMII:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS HE HAS A RECOMMENDATION TO MAKE. LET'S GET ON WITH THE SHOW. LET'S START DOING THINGS ABOUT IT, BECAUSE HE IS CONVINCED THAT IF WE WANT TO STICK TO THE ISSUES THAT WE HAVE BROUGHT UP AND HAVE TAKEN PLACE, BOTH PARTIES HAVE MANY STORIES TO SAY.

AVE: ((COMPLETING THE INTERPRETATION)) A LOT OF HEARTBURN ON BOTH SIDES.

JORTH: DID I REASSURE YOU ABOUT THE TEHRAN BUSINESS? THAT IT IS NOT A PERSONAL THING. IT WAS WHAT WE WERE TOLD BEFOREHAND.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

AVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) WE UNDERSTAND THE CAUSE OF THE MISUNDERSTANDING, SINCE EVERYTHING WE ***** CAME FROM GHORBANIFAR ALONE, AND WE WANT YOU TO UNDERSTAND THAT WE NOW UNDERSTAND HOW THIS DISSATISFACTION CAME ABOUT.

AMII:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE IS REFERRING TO A SESSION--AND HE DOESN'T WANT TO OPEN IT UP UNLESS WANT HIM TO DO THAT NOW--HE SAYS HE'S HOPING THE DIRECTION THE DISCUSSION WENT THAT NIGHT THAT HE CAME TO THE

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HOTEL AND ((FEW WORDS *****)) HE CAME BEHIND WITH THE AMERICAN DELEGATION--HE IS HOPING THAT SUCH EVENTS WOULD NOT TAKE PLACE AGAIN, AND WOULD NOT REFER TO THAT TYPE OF DISCUSSION AGAIN.

NORTH: IS THAT THE NIGHT THAT ***** GOT ALL PISSED OFF? I'M TRYING TO REMEMBER WHICH ONE IT WAS.

SAMII:

HAKIM: I KNOW WHAT HE'S TALKING ABOUT. WE DISCUSSED THIS THING EARLIER. AND I SUGGEST THAT WE DO NOT GET INTO IT. I WILL GIVE YOU A HINT. LET'S REALLY FLY OVER IT. APPARENTLY, AT ONE POINT THERE WERE DOUBTS IN THE MINDS OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION IN THAT THE LIVES OF THE PEOPLE WERE ENDANGERED BY BEING THERE, AND THEY WERE A LITTLE BIT TOUCHY ABOUT THE ISSUE. AND THERE WAS TOTAL MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE IRANIAN HOSPITALITY AND THAT THE GUESTS OF AN IRANIAN ARE AS DEAR TO THEM AS THEIR EYES ARE. HE SAYS "PLEASE NEVER EVER DOUBT US AGAIN, IF YOU ARE COMING THERE TO OUR COUNTRY, BECAUSE OUR GUESTS ARE DEAR TO US LIKE OUR EYES."

NORTH: I MUST CONFESS TO A ***** ON OUR SIDE. TEHRAN WAS A VERY BAD MISTAKE. GOING TO TEHRAN WAS A BAD MISTAKE. AND WHILE WE WERE THERE WE BOTH MADE MANY MISTAKES.

DAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) LIKE WE SAID AT THE AIRPLANE.

HAKIM: HIS ?TOTAL? POINT IS THAT WE HAVE A LOT OF PARTNERS. IF YOU STAY ***** AND LET'S GET ON WITH THE SHOW.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WANTS TO PUT ALL THESE THINGS BEHIND. BUT THERE IS ONE THING THAT HE WANTS YOU TO LEARN FROM THE MISTAKES OF TEHRAN--AND I PERSONALLY, HONESTLY VOUCH FOR THIS, ALI--FOR AN IRANIAN, AND ESPECIALLY AN IRANIAN MOSLEM, WHEN SOMEONE-- YOU SEE, THIS HAS ROOTS THAT GO BACK TO THE TIME OF MOHAMMAD-- REMEMBER THIS WORD "AMAN". AN ENEMY WHO IS WITH A GUN OR A SWORD REACHING TO KILL AN IRANIAN MOSLEM AND HE GETS TO THE POINT THAT HE IS BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL AND THE IRANIAN MOSLEM IS GETTING READY TO KILL HIM, IF HE SAYS "I WANT "AMAN", THE IRANIAN TEACHING AND THE ISLAMIC TEACHING DEMANDS THAT YOU HAVE TO GIVE HIM "AMAN" ((SECURITY/SANCTUARY)). AND THAT MEANS HE BECOMES UNDER YOUR CUSTODY. AND WHEN SOMEONE WALKS INTO THEIR HOME, EVEN...AND HE IS A GUEST AND WALKS INTO TERRITORY THAT IS UNDERSTOOD TO THEM THAT THEY WALKING INTO THAT SOLELY DEPENDING ON THEIR COURTESY, THEY WILL DIE BEFORE THEY WILL LET THEIR GUESTS DIE. HE WANTS YOU TO KNOW THAT.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) I'LL GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE WHICH IS REAL. ((TELLS A LONG STORY ABOUT A MEMBER OF IRANIAN OPPOSITION WHO SPENT A MONTH AS GUEST IN THE HOME OF THE HEAD OF THE INTELLIGENCE TEAM WHICH WAS PURSUING HIM.))

SECOND?: I DON'T THINK THAT THERE WAS THAT MUCH OF A MISUNDERSTANDING. I THINK THAT THESE PEOPLE WERE WELL EDUCATED ON THE WAYS OF ISLAM.

ORTH: IT WASN'T SO MUCH THAT WE WERE CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD DO TO US, BUT THAT SOME RADICAL FACTION MIGHT FIND OUT WE

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WERE THERE AND TAKE ACTION AGAINST US. LOOK AT WHAT JUST HAPPENED.
TO THE SYRIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES. [REDACTED]

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS, BUT DOESN'T GET TO THE PART ABOUT THE SYRIAN CHARGE.))

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE SAYS THAT HE UNDERSTANDS THAT. THE POINT THAT HE IS TRYING TO PUT ACROSS TO YOU IS THAT HE AGREES THAT SUCH A THING COULD HAVE TAKEN PLACE, BUT THEY HAD TO FIRST STEP OVER THEIR DEAD BODIES BEFORE THEY WOULD GET TO YOU. HE WANTS YOU TO KNOW THAT. HE SAID THAT YOUR GUYS SLEPT SIX HOURS A DAY. HE AND HIS GROUP DIDN'T SLEEP AT ALL, BECAUSE THEY HAD TO REALLY... STEP OVER THEIR DEAD BODIES BEFORE THEY WOULD GET TO YOU.

NORTH: HOW CLOSE DID IT COME? ((LAUGHTER))

((SOME DISCUSSION ABOUT HOW BEST TO PROCEED. CONSENSUS WAS THAT AN AGENDA SHOULD BE SET UP FOR THE NEXT DAY'S MEETINGS BEFORE THE MEETING THAT NIGHT BROKE UP. THEY BEGIN TO MAKE A LIST OF THINGS TO BE INCLUDED ON THE AGENDA.))

NORTH: LET ME PUT AT THE VERY TOP.. I THINK WE NEED TO HAVE A DISCUSSION TOMORROW OF WHAT I CALL THE HONORABLE SETTLEMENT, AN HONORABLE PEACE IN THE IRAN IRAQ WAR. BECAUSE WE SEE THAT AS A KEY TO KEEPING THE SOVIETS OUT OF THIS DAMN THING.

HAKIM: BEFORE I TRANSLATE THIS, MAY I MAKE A SUGGESTION? I'M NO DIPLOMAT, BUT...

NORTH: GOD KNOWS I'M NOT.

HAKIM: I REALLY THINK THAT THE FIRST ISSUE THAT YOU SHOULD DISCUSS WHICH IS TOTALLY ISOLATED FROM EVERYTHING ELSE... EVERYTHING ELSE IS TIED TOGETHER. THERE IS AN ISOLATED ISSUE YOU SHOULD DISCUSS THAT TAKE ***** AND THE QUESTION OF THE HOSTAGES. I BELIEVE WE SHOULD DISCUSS THAT, HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING ON THIS, AND PUT IT ASIDE AND THEN HAVE THE DIPLOMATIC, POLITICAL DISCUSSION. THAT IS MY SUGGESTION.

NORTH: I AGREE WITH THAT. BUT I DON'T THINK WE'RE GOING TO FIX THE HOSTAGES TOMORROW. WE'RE NOT GOING TO FIX THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR TOMORROW EITHER. I DON'T WANT ANYBODY IN THIS ROOM OR ANYBODY IN OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS TO WALK AWAY FROM THIS MEETING THINKING THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE FOR US IS THE HOSTAGES.

HAKIM: NO, NO, NO. WE UNDERSTAND THAT. LET ME REPEAT ONE THING THAT THIS MAN SAID. THAT IS GOING TO BE THE FOUNDATION OF OUR DISCUSSION. AND THAT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE UNDERSTAND THAT HE HAS CHANGED THE TOTAL ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNING SECTOR OF IRAN IN HOW THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IRAN AND THE U.S. SHOULD BE. HE'S THE FOUNDER OF THAT. SO THAT IS WHY I AM BRINGING THIS SUBJECT UP. I AM TALKING ALONG LINES THAT YOU TWO WANT TO TALK. THAT'S WHY I'M SAYING I KNOW THAT AS FAR AS YOUR OBJECTIVE IS CONCERNED, THE LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIP IS MORE IMPORTANT, AND SO IS HIS. BUT I AM SITTING HERE, AND I SEE THERE IS A SMALL ISSUE HERE.

NORTH: WELL, IT'S A VERY PRACTICAL OBSTACLE.

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DAKIM: IN PERSIAN, EXPLAINS THAT NORTH HAS SUGGESTED STARTING THE DISCUSSIONS BY TALKING ABOUT THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR. EXPLAINS ALSO THAT IN HIS VIEW IT WOULD BE A BIG MISTAKE TO FOLLOW THAT COURSE, AND THAT THERE SHOULD FIRST BE DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE HOSTAGES BEFORE GETTING TO POLITICAL MATTERS SUCH AS THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR. HE NOTES THAT A DISCUSSION OF SUCH A COMPLEX ISSUE AS THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR WOULD LEAD TO A DISCUSSION OF THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET THE ROLE OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES OF THE GULF, ETC. HE SAYS THAT ALTHOUGH THE MATTER OF THE HOSTAGES MIGHT BE AN INSIGNIFICANT ISSUE FOR "YOU DIPLOMATS" IN COMPARISON WITH THE MATTER OF LONG TERM RELATIONS, FOR HIM, AS A "CIVILIAN" AND A NON-DIPLOMAT, THE HOSTAGE MATTER IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT. HE VIEWS IT AS A POTENTIAL OBSTACLE TO FURTHER LONG-RANGE POLITICAL RELATIONS. "LET'S GET RID OF THIS MATTER FIRST," HE SAID, "THEN PROCEED TO A DISCUSSION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.")

SAMII: ((GIVES A LONG ACCOUNT OF ALL THE VARIOUS MATTERS THAT SHOULD BE DISCUSSED INCLUDING THE SITUATION IN LEBANON, THE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, THE RELATIONS WITH PERSIAN GULF COUNTRIES, ETC.))

CAVE: THE FIRST THING IS THAT ALL THESE SUBJECTS, IF THEY WANT TO DISCUSS THEM, AND GIVE US WHAT THEIR VIEWS ARE ON A WHOLE LIST OF SUBJECTS, YOU KNOW, THE LEBANESE SITUATION, THE AFGHAN SITUATION, THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB COUNTRIES, THEIR POSITION IN LEBANON, THEIR PROBLEMS WITH THE FRENCH, GEOSTRATEGIC PROBLEMS, THEN THEY WANT TO HEAR OURS, AND IN THESE THINGS THEY HAVE A LOT OF INTELLIGENCE THEY WANT TO PASS TO US, ON AFGHANISTAN, FOR INSTANCE, AND ON THE LEBANON. THEN THEY WANT TO HEAR WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY. THEN TOGETHER COME UP WITH PLANS ON HOW THEY'LL HANDLE THESE SUBJECTS IN THE FUTURE.

IAKIM: THE ISSUES THAT MR. SAMII ***** ARE IN FULL THE SAME AS THE ISSUES THAT WE HAVE *****ABSOLUTELY NO DIFFERENCE AT ALL. I WAS AMAZED AT HOW DETAILED HE WENT WITHOUT NOTES ON THE ISSUES THAT HE WANTS TO TALK ABOUT AND HOW HE WANTS TO DISCUSS THEM. NOT ONLY FROM AN ANALYSIS POINT OF VIEW, NOT ONLY FROM EXCHANGE POINT OF VIEW, BUT ALSO FROM *****POINT OF VIEW, AND ALSO GET IN TO THE PERIPHERAL. AND HE GAVE EXAMPLES OF ALL THOSE ISSUES THAT HE WANTS TO DISCUSS: THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH EUROPE, AND PARTICULARLY WITH FRANCE, AND WHAT THE FRENCH ARE DOING RIGHT NOW. HE WANTS TO DISCUSS THE WHOLE ISSUE OF THE LEBANESE, WHAT THEY HAVE DONE WITH THEM, WHAT THEY HAVE HEARD FROM THEM, AND THEY WANT TO EXCHANGE THOSE VIEWS WITH US. THEY WANT TO GO INTO DETAILED DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE RUSSIANS, THEY WANT TO GO DEEP INTO DISCUSSIONS WITH REGARD TO THE NEIGHBORING ARAB NATIONS...

CAVE: THEY PLACED PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THAT.

IAKIM: THEY WANT TO FEED BACK TO US THE ISSUES THAT WE DISCUSSED WITH ALI, AND *****NICARAGUA, AND OTHER ISSUES. HE HAS A WHOLE LIST OF ISSUES THAT THEY NEED TO DISCUSS WITH US, AND MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THEY MUST HAVE DISCUSSED THESE THINGS IN DETAIL AND ALSO THIS HONORABLE PEACE ISSUE....

AVE: THEY ARE VERY INTERESTED IN THAT.

ORTH: THAT'S INTERESTING BECAUSE WHILE YOU WERE TALKING, I WAS DRAWING UP A ROUGH AGENDA OF ITEMS TO TALK ABOUT TOMORROW, AND YOU AND I HAVE COVERED IN WHAT YOU WERE SAYING AND WHAT I WROTE, ALL THE SAME THINGS.

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HAKIM: MR. NORTH, I HAVE A PREDICTION TO MAKE. YOU AND MR. SAMII ARE GOING TO BECOME VERY VERY CLOSE FRIENDS. I CAN SEE THAT. YOU TWO THINK SO MUCH ALIKE. AND THEN THERE WILL BE TROUBLE. ((LAUGHTER)).

NORTH: WE'LL BOTH BE SHOT.

HAKIM: ((IN PERSIAN TELLS SAMII WHAT HE HAD JUST TOLD NORTH ABOUT THE TWO OF THEM THINKING SO MUCH ALIKE.))

NORTH: YEAH. I DREW UP AN AGENDA OF ITEMS. I PUT ON MY AGENDA THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR FIRST. SECOND WAS AFGHANISTAN. THIRD WAS CENTRAL AMERICA AND NICARAGUA. FOURTH WAS OVERCOMING THE OBSTACLES THAT GET US THERE. AND BY THE OBSTACLES I MEAN

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) FORGIVE ME. I KNOW WHAT HE IS SAYING HERE. HE'S GOING BACK TO THE VERY ISSUE THAT IS OUTSTANDING IN YOUR MIND. WHO HE IS. HE IS GOING BACK TO THAT ISSUE. OKAY? THAT'S WHY HE MENTIONED THIS. THAT'S WHY HE STOPPED ME FROM TRANSLATING. TOMORROW HE WANTS TO OPEN UP AND TO FLOOD YOU WITH EVERYTHING THAT HE KNOWS AND HE HAS ON HIS MIND. HE WANTS YOU TO JUST LISTEN TO EVERYTHING THAT HE HAS TO SAY.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) AND THE REASON HE WANTS TO DO THIS IS HE HAS A FEELING THAT THERE ARE MANY ISSUES, WHILE HE IS SPILLING HIS GUTS OUT, THAT TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES. AUTOMATICALLY SETTLED. AND THEN AFTER HE FINISHES, THEN YOU LOOK AT YOUR LIST, AND IN THE ORDER OF PRIORITY THAT YOU HAVE ESTABLISHED, AND THEN...

NORTH: AND BETTER EVEN STILL, I THINK OUR AGENDA FOR TOMORROW OUGHT TO BE: YOU TALK, I'LL LISTEN. AND THEN I'LL TALK. TOMORROW IS GOING TO BE A VERY GOOD DAY BECAUSE IT'S MY 44TH BIRTHDAY... ((EXCHANGE OF BANTER. JOKE ABOUT KANGARLU THINKING THAT CAVE IS IN THE HOSPITAL.))

END OF TAPE SIX

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TAPE SEVEN

NORTH: WE CAN'T FIGHT THIS IN THE PRESS BEFORE WE EVEN GET THE MACHINE GOING.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

((THE PARTIES AGREE TO MEET THE NEXT MORNING AT 0930. MEETING BREAKS UP WITH PERSONAL CHITCHAT.))

((PERSIANS CONTINUE TO WHISPER AND TALK SOFTLY IN THE BACKGROUND. THEY OBVIOUSLY ARE OPERATING ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE ROOM IS BUGGED. CAN ONLY PICK UP A WORD OR TWO HERE AND THERE. SOUNDS LIKE AT LEAST THREE PEOPLE ARE PRESENT. LATER THERE IS TALKING AND LAUGHING IN WHAT SOUNDS LIKE ANOTHER ROOM OF THE SUITE. ONE PERSON SAYS GOOD NIGHT, AND TWO OR MORE OTHER PEOPLE CONTINUE TO CHAT IN THE BACKGROUND. LAST PART OF TAPE CONTAINS NO VOICES, ONLY SOUNDS OF MOVEMENT, CLOSING DRAWERS, ETC.))

TAPE EIGHT

NOTHING HEARD ON THE TAPE UNTIL ABOUT ONE THIRD OF THE WAY THROUGH. ((COUNTER AT 162)). THEN, SUDDENLY, AS IF THE RECORDER HAD JUST BEEN TURNED ON, VOICES ARE HEARD IN THE BACKGROUND. SOUNDS LIKE IT MIGHT BE IN ANOTHER ROOM IN THE SUITE. SOUNDS LIKE AT LEAST THREE PEOPLE. FOR THE MOST PART INAUDIBLE. ONE SENTENCE WAS CLEAR HOWEVER. SOMEONE SAID, IN ENGLISH, "TELL ALI TO BRING A SHEET OF PAPER." ((COUNTER AT 300)). CONVERSATION IS IN BOTH ENGLISH AND PERSIAN, BUT ONLY ISOLATED PHRASES CAN BE HEARD. ABOUT THREE QUARTERS OF WAY THROUGH THE TAPE, SOUND STOPS IN MID CONVERSATION. ((COUNTER AT 469)).

TAPE NINE

SIMILAR TO TAPE EIGHT. CONVERSATION GOING ON ?IN ADJACENT ROOM?. AT LEAST THREE, PROBABLY MORE, PEOPLE PRESENT. AT LEAST TWO ENGLISH SPEAKERS AND ONE PERSIAN. ONE PARTY SERVING AS INTERPRETER. ((AT COUNTER SETTING 144, PERSIAN STOPS SPEAKING AND ENGLISH SPEAKER BEGINS INTERPRETING BY SAYING, "HE SAYS THAT HE.") ONLY FRAGMENTARY SEGMENTS ARE AUDIBLE, EVEN WITH VOLUME TURNED UP ALL THE WAY. OTHER PHRASES HEARD: "I TELL YOU VERY PLAINLY THAT..." ((194)); "THERE ARE MANY THEORIES IN ((WORD MISSING)) AS TO WHAT IS CAUSING THE PROBLEM...."((203)); "THE DIALOGUE WE HAD IN IRAN..." ((267)); "WE MADE EVERY EFFORT TO STOP...."((663)). "WE EVEN PUT OUR MARINES INTO BEIRUT TO STOP YOUR? ((WORD MISSING)) FROM...((677)); "AND THEN WE WITHDREW THE MARINES IN JULY BECAUSE" ((692)). CONVERSATION CONTINUES THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE TAPE.

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TAPE TEN, SIDE A

((UP TO THIS POINT, TAPES HAVE BEEN RECORDED ON ONLY ONE SIDE. REMAINDER OF TAPES --THERE ARE SEVEN MORE, INCLUDING THIS ONE --

ARE RECORDED ON BOTH SIDES.))

WHEN TAPE FIRST STARTS, SOUND IS REMOTE AS IN PREVIOUS TWO TAPES.
THEN SUDDENLY SOUND COMES ON LOUD ((COUNTER SETTING 15)) WITH
MR. CAVE CHATTING WITH TWO PERSIANS, IN PERSIAN, ABOUT
PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE, STATUS OF AFGHAN REFUGEES
IN IRAN, ETC.

THEN ROOM SERVICE ARRIVES. RATTLING OF DISHES. OTHER PEOPLE
ARRIVE IN ROOM. CHATTER ABOUT GETTING FLIGHT BACK TO U.S.
((MUST BE AFTERNOON, BECAUSE ?NORTH? SAYS WOULD HAVE TO LEAVE
RIGHT NOW TO CATCH A 1900 HOURS FLIGHT BACK TO WASHINGTON.))

((THESE ARE THE NOTES THROUGH ABOUT HALF WAY THROUGH SIDE A (350)))

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 ((THESE ARE THE NOTES FOR THE LAST HALF OF TAPE 10 SIDE A (350)))

((353))

NORTH: LET'S GO AHEAD AND START UNLESS WE NEED TO WAIT FOR SOME REASON.
 WHERE ARE WE GOING TO GO?..... ALRIGHT LET ME FINISH AND
 THEN WE'LL ASK QUESTIONS.

CAVE: (INTERPRETS)

(IN FARSI. MENTION OF SOMEONE SLEEPING.)

CAVE: HE IS SLEEPING MAYBE THEY HAVE A SHIFT. ONE OF THE THREE
 HAS TO SLEEP WHILE THE OTHER TWO ARE AWAKE. NOW THAT HE
 IS WORKING HE HAS TO SLEEP. (LAUGHTER)

NORTH: OKAY I'LL SLEEP NEXT.

CAVE: (INTERPRETS)

SAMII: (TALKING ABOUT A LETTER THAT HE HAD RECEIVED)

NORTH: HAVE YOU SEEN THIS LETTER?

CAVE: (IN ENGLISH)
 THEY GAVE THIS TO HIM AS A CONCESSION.

NORTH: THE HIZBALLAH? WHO GAVE THAT TO YOU?

PERSIANS: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: (INTERPRETS)

HE TOOK THIS FROM ONE OF THE BOYS IN TEHRAN THAT VISITED LEBANON.

SAMII: THIS WAS GIVEN TO THE MEDIA?

CAVE: (INTERPRETS)

NORTH: IT WAS PROVIDED TO THE MEDIA BY THE HIZBALLAH.

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: EXACTLY AS YOU SEE HERE?

(ALL TALKING AT ONCE)

NORTH: SURELY. YES. THAT'S IT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

(PERSIANS TALKING ABOUT A VIDEOTAPE THAT WAS SHOWN. THEY
 CAN'T QUITE AGREE ON WHICH ONE IT WAS. FIRST THEY SAID IT
 WAS THE ONE ON FRIDAY THEN THEY SAID THURSDAY.)

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22998

Classified By NSA/CSSM 12-3
 Declassify On: Originating Agency's Determination Schedule

[REDACTED]

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))
HE SAYS THE LATEST SUMMATION ON AFGHANISTAN AND THE SOVIET...

SAMII: ((IN PERSIAN)) DURING THE SEVERAL YEARS THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE
BEEN IN AFGHANISTAN, THEY HAVE ESTABLISHED THEIR OWN POLITICAL
AND INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITY AND GOVERNMENT MACHINERY.

CAVE: WHEN DID IT START?

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THIS IS THE LAST MOST RECENT INFORMATION WE HAVE ABOUT THE SOVIETS
AND THE SOVIET PRESENCE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF UH ... THE MILITARY
SITUATION, THE POLITICAL SITUATION, AND THE CONTROL OF THE MACHINERY
OF THE GOVERNMENT.

SAMII: ... AND NOW THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PREPARE THE WAY FOR MAKING THE
NATURE OF THEIR PRESENCE COMPLETE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
AND WHAT THEY HAVE DONE, ACCORDING TO THEIR INFORMATION, HAS EVOLVED
THE SITUATION WHERE THEY CAN CHANGE THE STRUCTURE OF THEIR PRESENCE
IN AFGHANISTAN.

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: EVEN IF WE WOULD DO NOTHING THE SOVIETS WOULD WITHIN TWO YEARS COULD
***** WOULD BE ABLE TO WITHDRAW ALL THEIR FORCES FROM AFGHANISTAN.

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: MEANING?

SAMII: ((IN PERSIAN))
IN OTHER WORDS, THEY WILL SET UP A GOVERNMENT THAT WILL BE A DISASTER
FOR US. (INAUDIBLE) MEANING THEY WILL CHANGE THEIR MILITARY PRESENCE,
HOWEVER (INAUDIBLE) WILL BE A DISASTER FOR US.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
HE SAID THAT WHAT THEY WILL DO IS THAT WHEN THEY WITHDRAW THEIR FORCES
THEY WILL SET UP A PUPPET GOVERNMENT.

NORTH: HE SAID ***** COMPLETELY?

CAVE: STRUCTURALLY OF THE EXISTING GOVERNMENT AND FOR IRAN THIS WILL BE
A DISASTER.

HAKIM: NOT FOR IRAN FOR ISLAM.

SAMII: (INTERRUPTED BY SOMEONE COMING IN)

CAVE: WHAT'S HIS NAME LEFT HER IN THE ROOM.

(INAUDIBLE)

SAMII: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
 AFTER GORBACHEV TOOK OFFICE AND NAJIBULIAH TOOK OFFICE THEY BOTH TRIED
 TO CORRECT THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST LEADERS IN AFGHANISTAN.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
 AND THEY CREATED A DOUBLE EDGED SWORD THAT ONE HAND BEING A TACTFUL
 MILITARY FORCE...

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
 AND THE OTHER EDGE WAS DIRECTED TOWARDS RELIGION, NATION, AND SOCIETY.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
 FOR INSTANCE CREATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

HAKIM: ((IN ENGLISH))
 INCIDENTALLY THE "LOI JENGEH" (NATIONAL ASSEMBLY) RARELY
 EVER MEANS... IT'S LIKE THE GATHERING OF THE CLANS.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
 THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IS ANTICOMMUNISM, BUT...

SAMII: ((IN PERSIAN)) BUT THEY HAVE UTILIZED THIS IN SUCH A WAY THAT ENABLES
 THEM TO MAINTAIN THEIR PRESENCE.

CAVE: ((IN ENGLISH)) BUT THEY HAVE CONTROLLED THIS INSTRUMENT.
 THEY'VE BROUGHT THIS INSTRUMENT UNDER THEIR EMPLOYMENT
 TO ESTABLISH THEIR PRESENCE.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
 THEY, THE SOVIET UNION, HAS THE EDGE ON INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE
 ON ALL FRONTS.

HAKIM: ((ALSO INTERPRETING)) EVEN MORE THAN THAT THROUGH
 INTELLIGENCE THEY CONTROL.

CAVE: ((FINISHING INTERPRETATION)) AND THEY HAVE CONTROL. YES.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((IN ENGLISH)) AND HE NAMED A NUMBER OF CITIES THAT THEY HAVE
 TOTAL DISCIPLINARY CONTROL OF THESE CITIES; GHANDAHAR,
 HERAT, KABUL, JALALABAD, MAZER-E SHARIF

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
 BUT THEY DO NOT HAVE SECURITY CONTROL.

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

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CAVE: IN THIS PROCESS, SUCH AS TRYING TO SEPARATE
THE DESTINY OF THE FOREIGNERS
AND THE CIVILIAN PEOPLE OF THE CITIES...

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)
(INTERRUPTION OF SOME SORT. VOICES TOO LOW TO DISCERN.)

SECCRD: WHY DON'T YOU HAVE THEM... TELL THEM THAT I'LL CALL
?ACI? IN ABOUT 2 HOURS.

SECCRD: PLEASE TELL THEM TO EXCUSE ME. I'M WORKING ON A LITTLE CRISIS HERE.

NORTH: THIS HERE... IN FACT, SEE IF HE CAN PUT YOU ON HOLD FOR A MINUTE AND
CONFIRM THAT I CAN CALL. IT WILL BE 5:00 HERE AND WE'LL JUST TAKE IT
ON THE BREAK AND *****

SECCRD: VERY WELL.

(INAUDIBLE)

????: ((IN PERSIAN)) I UNDERSTAND.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
AFGHANISTAN HAS BEEN DIVIDED INTO SECTIONS BY THE RUSSIANS AND EACH
SECTION... (ASKS SAMII SOMETHING IN FARSI)

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
AND DEPENDING ON THE PRIORITY AND IMPORTANCE OF EACH SECTION HAS
ESTABLISHED A PHASE APPROACH TOWARDS THE TOTAL REGION.

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
AND THE FIRST PRIORITY HAS BEEN GIVEN TO ALL THE VILLAGES AT THE
BORDER AND THE OPERATIONAL OBJECTIVE IS TO DISCONNECT THEIR
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESE VILLAGES WITH THE NEIGHBORS.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
IT IS PAKISTAN FIRST. IRAN NEXT, THEN CHINA.

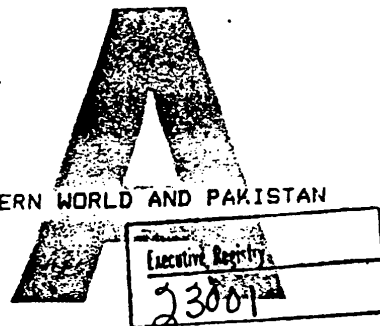
SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
AND HE WANTS TO BE VERY CLEAR THAT THE WESTERN WORLD AND PAKISTAN
HAVE NOT DONE MUCH FOR THE AFGHANS.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
AND TODAY THE MAIN ISSUES AND PROBLEMS THEY HAVE ARE GROUNDED
AND HAVE NOT BEEN TAKEN CARE OF.

SAMII:



CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
TODAY RUSSIA HAS APPROACHED BOTH PAKISTAN AND IRAN THAT CAN BE
CONSIDERED AS... HOW DO YOU SAY?

HAKIM: ((IN ENGLISH)) FOR PRECEDENT.

SAMII:

CAVE: THEY'RE CONCERNED ABOUT... THEY'RE FEARFUL ABOUT IRAN.

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THEREFORE THEY APPROACH IRAN A LITTLE BIT WITH SLOWER PACE.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
HE'S ENDANGERING THE INTERNAL SECURITY OF PAKISTAN.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
IT HAS PENETRATED THE FARTHEST PART OF AFGHANISTAN AS FAR AS INTELLI-
GENCE IS CONCERNED.

SAMII: ((IN PERSIAN))
AND WE ARE WITNESSING THE DISAGREEMENTS AND CLASHES OF THE FACTIONS.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN))
WHAT FACTIONS?

SAMII: ((IN PERSIAN))
MOJAHEDIN FACTIONS.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
AND THEY ARE WITNESSING THE DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT
FACTIONS OF THE MOJAHEDINS

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: (CAVE APPEARS TO NEED MORE CLARIFICATION ON WHAT SAMII SAID. EVERYONE
JUMPS IN. INAUDIBLE.)

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
HE WANTS TO MAKE CLEAR THE APPROACH TOWARDS ***** IS NOT NECESSARILY
MORE ?IN/THAN? AFGHANISTAN.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
WHAT THEY NEED IN AFGHANISTAN IS UNIFICATION BETWEEN THE VARIOUS
GROUPS OF SHI'ITE AND SUNNI.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
EVEN AMONGST THOSE WHO ARE NOT OUR FRIENDS AND YET ARE THE ENEMIES
OF THE RUSSIANS...

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SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
ALL OF THESE SHOULD UNITE AND CONFRONT THE RED ARMY.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THE PROPAGANDA IS YOU AND US CLAIM THAT 70% OF AFGHANISTAN IS
FREED.

SAMII: (DISHES RATTLING INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
LET'S BE HONEST. WHAT'S THE VALUE OF THIS PERCENTAGE OF THE TERRITORY.

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THE MOJAHEDIN SCROUNGE TODAY.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
ANYTIME THAT THE RUSSIANS DECIDE TO PRESS THEM FARTHER DOWN, THEY ARE
NOT CAPABLE OF DOING THAT.

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
AND THEY TRANSFERRED ALL THE YOUNG (INAUDIBLE) COULD CARRY WEAPONS
QUITE EFFECTIVELY UH. SENT THEM OUT OF THE COUNTRY TO THE ?QUARTERS?
IN IRAN AND PAKISTAN

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
IF YOU GIVE THEM SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILES TO (INAUDIBLE)

SAMII: (INTERRUPTED)

NORTH: SURFACE-TO-SURFACE OR SURFACE-TO-AIR?

CAVE: SURFACE-TO-SURFACE... TOW'S.

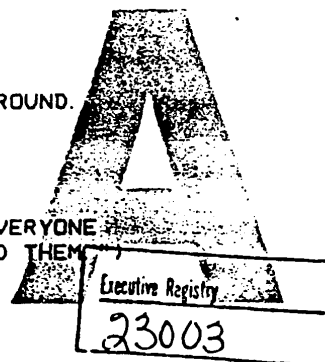
SAMII: ((IN PERSIAN))
LOOK. ONES THAT ARE SHORT RANGE GROUND-TO-GROUND.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
SHORT. SHORT RANGE.

(SOMEONE ASKS IF HE'S REFERRING TO RPG'S. EVERYONE
TALKING. THEN SOMEONE SAYS, "THEY DON'T NEED THEM")

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
MOJAHEDINS CANNOT FIGHT THE ENEMY FROM A DISTANCE. THEY HAVE TO
PENETRATE THE HEART OF THE ENEMY AND FIGHT.



[REDACTED]

HAKIM: ((IN PERSIAN)) MUST NOT. ((IN ENGLISH)) NOT CANNOT.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THEY NEED DEFENSIVE EQUIPMENT, AIR DEFENSE, AND OTHER DEFENSIVE EQUIPMENT.

SAMII: THEY NEED TRAINING AND (INAUDIBLE) CHEMICAL.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THEY NEED TRAINING, ESPECIALLY TOWARDS UH.. I CAN'T COME UP WITH A WORD FOR THAT.

HAKIM: ((IN ENGLISH)) PROTECTIVE AGENTS.?

CAVE: (REPEATS WHAT HAKIM SAID)

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
WHICH RUSSIA IS PUTTING INTO EFFECT AND TRAINING FOR USING SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILES.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
IN PANJSHIR THEY HAVE USED CHEMICAL WARFARE.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THEY, THE MOJAHEDINS, ALSO REQUIRE ANTITANK EQUIPMENT.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THEY NEED DOCTOR AND MEDICAL SUPPORT.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THEY NEED MEDICATION, DOCTORS, ETC.

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

END OF TAPE 10 SIDE A

(APPEARS EXCHANGES WERE MISSED BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES OF THE TAPE.)

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THEY ARE AWARE THAT RECENTLY YOU HAVE STARTED TO GIVE THE WEAPONS TO THE GROUPS INSIDE.

SAMII: ((IN PERSIAN))
YOU SEE, WE HAVE DONE THIS AND YOU SHOULD DO THE SAME. PRESSURE THOSE OUTSIDE OF AFGHANISTAN TO MOVE INSIDE SO THEY MAY FIGHT AS ONE

[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

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CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THEY HAVE STARTED TO DO THIS AND WE SHOULD DO THE SAME THING THEY
CANNOT, IN PUSHING THE PEOPLE FROM THE OUTSIDE TO UNITE AND MOVE
INSIDE.

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: (QUESTION HERE ABOUT A PARTICULAR WORD. EVERYONE TALKING. INAUDIBLE).

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THEY CANNOT SUCCEED.

HAKIM: ((IN PERSIAN))
WHICH THEY CANNOT SUCCEED.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THEY MUST MOVE INSIDE.

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
MOJAHEDINS MUST BE TRAINED TODAY IN BOTH AREAS. ORGANIZE AND....

HAKIM: ((IN ENGLISH))
I THINK WHAT HE'S THINKING IS BOTH IN REGULAR MILITARY TACTICS AND
IRREGULAR MILITARY TACTICS.

SAMII: (INAUDIBLE)

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THE GROUP THAT THE MOJAHEDIN ARE INVOLVED WITH (INAUDIBLE) THEY MUST
PENETRATE AND GET TO THE AFGHANI AND THE RUSSIAN TROOPS.

SAMII: ((IN PERSIAN))
WE BELIEVE THAT THE WAR MUST BE TAKEN OUT OF AFGHANISTAN AND INTO
THE SOVIET UNION AND WE HAVE STARTED TO DO SO.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETING))
THEY BELIEVE THAT THE WAR MUST BE TAKEN ONTO SOVIET SOIL, THAT IS
THE AFGHAN WAR MUST BE TAKEN ON TO SOVIET SOIL.

SAMII:

CAVE: (INTERPRETING)
AND IRAN IS NOT SITTING IDLE IN THIS MATTER.

SAMII: ((TIME OUT FOR COFFEE AND CHATTER))

HAKIM ((INTERPRETS)) TODAY THE NORTHERN PART OF AFGHANISTAN LIKE BADAKHSHAN
JOZGAN, FARYAB, BADGEIS, AND NAZAR-E SHARIF, MUST BECOME ACTIVE.
WE MUST ELIMINATE THE FEAR OF THE MOJAHEDIN FROM GOING INTO THE
CITIES.

SAMII:

HAKIM ((INTERPRETS)) I MUST EMPHASIZE IN THE ISSUE OF TRAINING--THE
TRAINING THAT WOULD ELIMINATE THE HANDICAP OF, THE REAL SHORTCOMING

Executive Registry

23005

LIKE THE SAM-7, AT THE LOWER LEVEL, OR THE STRELA.

SAMII:

HAKIM ((INTERPRETS)) FOR INSTANCE, ***** 36 OUT OF THE 40 THAT WAS GIVEN TO THEM, WAS *****THE JAMIAT-E ISLAMI CROWD, BECAUSE OF TRAINING THEY JUST DID NOT GET THE TRAINING.

NORTH. IT WASN'T THE WEAPONS. IT WAS THE TRAINING.

SAMII: TODAY, ACCORDING TO THE INFO WE HAVE, INSIDE AFGHANISTAN, THERE ARE SEVERAL FORCES.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) TODAY THE RUSSIAN MILITARY POSSESSES A NUMBER OF FORCES IN AFGHANISTAN. THE BORDER GUARDS, THE GROUND FORCES, THE AIR FORCE, AND THE BORDER GUARDS INCLUDE TEN BRIGADES, FOUR BORDERS, AND THE GROUND FORCES COMPRISE THREE ARMIES ((SAMII ACTUALLY SAID CORPS)) AND ONE INDEPENDENT DIVISION. THE FIRST ARMY ((SAMII SAID CORPS)) IS IN KABUL ((TIME OUT TO ROLL OUT SOME MAPS.))

SAMII: THIS IS A MAP OF THE NORTHWEST WHICH IS LOCATED OPPOSITE EASTERN IRAN AND MASHHAD. AND YOU SEE ON THE MAP THE DEPLOYMENT OF GOVERNMENT FORCES IN THE BORDER AREA OF HERAT AND FARAKH.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)).

SAMII: HERAT AND FARAH ARE THE SAME PROVINCE IN WHICH THE SHINDAN HEADQUARTER IS LOCATED. THE SHINDAN AIRBASE, THE FIRST CORPS IS IN KABUL. YOU SEE THAT IN THIS FIRST CORPS THERE ARE VARIOUS ENGINEERING BATTALIONS, INFANTRY BATTALIONS, COMMUNICATIONS BATTALIONS ((CAVE INTERPRETED THIS AS INTELLIGENCE)), DEFENSE AND TRANSPORT, AND THESE ARE ALSO ORGANIZED IN THE INDEPENDENT DIVISIONS. ((CAVE INTERPRETED AS "AND THEY HAVE THE HEADQUARTERS OF AN INDEPENDENT DIVISION.")) AND ON THIS ((MAP)) IT IS CLEAR THAT VARIOUS TRANSPORT AND TRANSPORTATION BATTALIONS ARE CONCENTRATED IN KABUL. AND THE ARTILLERY TRAINING ALSO TAKES PLACE IN KABUL. AND THE MOUNTAIN INFANTRY, AIR AND HELICOPTER, AND INDEPENDENT PARATROOPER BATTALIONS AND MECHANIZED INFANTRY. AND WE ALSO SEE COMMUNICATIONS, RADAR AND PARATROOPERS ON THIS MAP. AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SECOND CORPS ((CAVE SAYS ARMY)).

((MORE EXAMINATION AND EXPLANATION OF THE MAP. GOES THROUGH A DETAILED O. B.))

((U.S. SIDE GIVES INFORMATION ABOUT SOVIET PLAN OF ATTACK AGAINST IRAN WHICH INCLUDES INVASION THROUGH HERAT AREA OF AFGHANISTAN. THEORY THAT BATTALION IN BORDER AREA IS SOVIET "ROUTE RECONNAISSANCE UNIT," I.E., ENGAGED IN GATHERING INTELLIGENCE IN CONNECTION WITH SOVIET DESIGNS AGAINST IRAN.))

((SAMII SAYS IRAN HAS PROBLEM IN TRACKING SOVIET OVERFLIGHTS OF IRANIAN TERRITORY BECAUSE OF RADAR DEFICIENCIES. IRAN HAS A VERY SERIOUS PROBLEM WITH LACK OF RADAR AND SAMII WANTS TO TALK ABOUT THAT LATER. IRAN WANTS U.S. TO PASS TO THE PAKISTANIS THE INTELLIGENCE THAT IRAN HAS ON THE KABUL, PAKTIA, AND KANDAHAR AREAS.))

SAMII: LOOK AT THE LOWER SECTION ((OF THE MAP)). (UNFOLDS MAP.) WE KNOW THE UNIT THAT IS DEPLOYED IN ZARANJ.

23006
Executive Order 123006

[REDACTED]

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: ARE YOU ALRIGHT?

CAVE: UH?

NORTH: IS YOUR BACK OKAY?

CAVE: IT'S ALRIGHT.

SAMII: THERE ARE NO FACTIONS DEPLOYED IN ZARANJ BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT IT IS NEAR OUR BORDER.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS SAYS SOVIETS INSTEAD OF FACTIONS.))

SAMII: HOWEVER, THIS IS ONE OF THE MAIN ARTILLERY HEADQUARTERS AND THERE IS ALSO AN INFANTRY BATTALION AND THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE TUDEH PARTY OPERATIONS AGAINST US.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII: AND THEIR JOB IS TO CONTROL OUR ZAHEDAN. THE CITY OF ZAHEDAN IN IRAN.

CAVE: WHAT DO YOU MEAN "CONTROL"?

SAMII: THE MISSION OF THOSE FORCES THAT ARE DEPLOYED IN ZARANJ IS CONTROLLING THE IRANIAN CITIES OF ZAHEDAN AND ZABOL.

CAVE: HE SAYS THAT WHAT... THAT THE DUTY OF THESE GUYS IS TO CONTROL WHAT GOES ON IN THE IRANIAN CITIES OF ZABOL AND ZAHEDAN.

NORTH: YEA. BUT SEE THAT'S NOT... THAT'S WRONG. THAT IS NOT A GRU OPERATION OR A SOVIET ARMY OPERATION. IT'S A KGB OPERATION. THERE'S A LOT OF SOVIETS THERE. THEY'RE KGB.

SAMII: IS THERE AN INTELLIGENCE PRESENCE THERE?

CAVE: YES.

SAMII: WELL, I'VE SEEN REGULAR MILITARY FORCES THERE.

CAVE: HE'S TALKING ABOUT THE SOVIET REGULAR ARMY.

NORTH: YES.

SAMII: TELL HIM THAT THERE ARE INTELLIGENCE FORCES AND THEIR RESERVE BATTALION HERE AND BECAUSE OF THE WATER THAT FLOWS FROM AFGHANISTAN INTO IRAN THEY CREATE A LOT OF PROBLEMS FOR US.

CAVE: HE SAID THAT AH... YOU KNOW THIS... THERE...

SAMII: THE HELMAND RIVER AND THE ?KASHMI? RIVER.

CAVE: HELMAND AND... THESE TWO RIVERS, YOU KNOW, EMPTY INTO IRAN AND THEY GIVE THEM A HELL OF A LOT OF PROBLEMS OVER THE WATER.

CAVE: (ASKS SAMII SOMETHING IN PERSIAN)

SAMII: WE ARE PRESENTLY CONFRONTED WITH THIS PROBLEM. OF COURSE SEVERAL TIMES

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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WE HAVE BLOWN UP DAMS THEY HAVE BUILT IN THIS REGION AT KAMANHAR AND CHAHARVORKAT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII: BUT THEY STILL USE THIS AS A POINT OF BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON IRAN.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII: AND IT IS PROBABLE IN THE MOUNTAINS BEHIND ZARANJ.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII: THEY HAVE FORCES FOR OPERATIONS AGAINST PAKISTAN, THE PERSIAN GULF, AND THE SEA OF OMAN. HOWEVER, WE HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE OF THEM.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEY'VE GOT FORCES DEPLOYED IN THE MOUNTAINS THERE TO USE IN THE PERSIAN GULF AREA AND BALUCHISTAN. BUT THEY DON'T KNOW. THEY DON'T HAVE ANY INFORMATION.

SAMII: THE HEADQUARTERS OF THOSE INTELLIGENCE FORCES THAT ARE ORGANIZING OPERATIONS IN IRANIAN AND PAKISTANI BALUCHISTAN IS IN ZARANJ.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

HE SAYS THAT THE INTELLIGENCE HEADQUARTERS FOR OPERATING IN IRANIAN AND PAKISTANI BALUCHISTAN IS IN ZARANJ.

NORTH: DON'T WE HAVE KGB COMMS COMING OUT OF THERE ON A REGULAR BASIS?

CAVE: I THINK SO. I KNOW WE'VE GOT THEM SOMEWHERE IN THIS AREA. ((THEN TO SAMII, IN PERSIAN)) WE KNOW THERE IS A KGB HEADQUARTERS IN THIS AREA.

SAMII: YES. TELL HIM THAT WE THINK IT LIKELY THAT THEY ARE BEHIND ZARANJ.

CAVE: THEY DON'T THINK THEY ARE RIGHT IN ZARANJ. YOU SEE, THE MOUNTAINS RISE. AND THEY THINK THAT BEHIND THE MOUNTAINS. AND THEY WANT TO KNOW IF WE'VE EVER PICKED UP ANYTHING THAT SHOWS INSTALLATIONS BEHIND THESE MOUNTAINS.

NORTH: THERE IS A SATELLITE DISH THERE, AND IT'S PROBABLY KGB. I THINK THAT WHAT WE'RE SEEING IS THE KGB COMMUNICATIONS...

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) WE HAVE SEEN ONE OF THOSE BIG SATELLITE ANTENNAES IN THAT AREA.

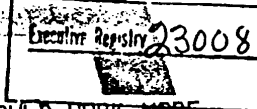
SAMII: FROM WHERE? HERE?

CAVE: RIGHT. IT WAS ON A TRUCK. ((TO NORTH)) THAT WAS THE ONE THAT WAS ON A FLATBED, RIGHT?

NORTH: YEAH.

SAMII: BUT WE HAVEN'T BEEN ABLE TO GET ANYTHING. YOU SHOULD WORK MORE CAREFULLY ON THE SHARAFATKUH AREA WHICH IS BEHIND ZARANJ.

CAVE: HE SAYS THAT THEY HAVE GOTTEN INFORMATION THAT THERE IS SOMETHING IN A PLACE CALLED SHARAFATKUH. AND IF WE THERE IS NO WAY



[REDACTED]

THAT THEY CAN PICK UP ANY INFORMATION. THEY DON'T HAVE ANY
OVERHEAD CAPABILITY.

SAMII: SHARAFATKUH, BOOLISTANKUH, AND CHAMANISTAN. BUT WE HAVEN'T BEEN
ABLE TO GET ANY INFORMATION.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

END OF TAPE 10

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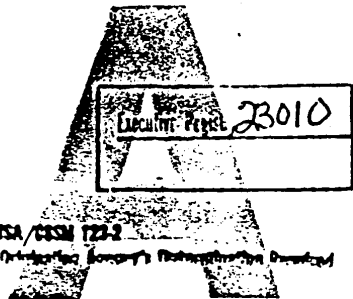
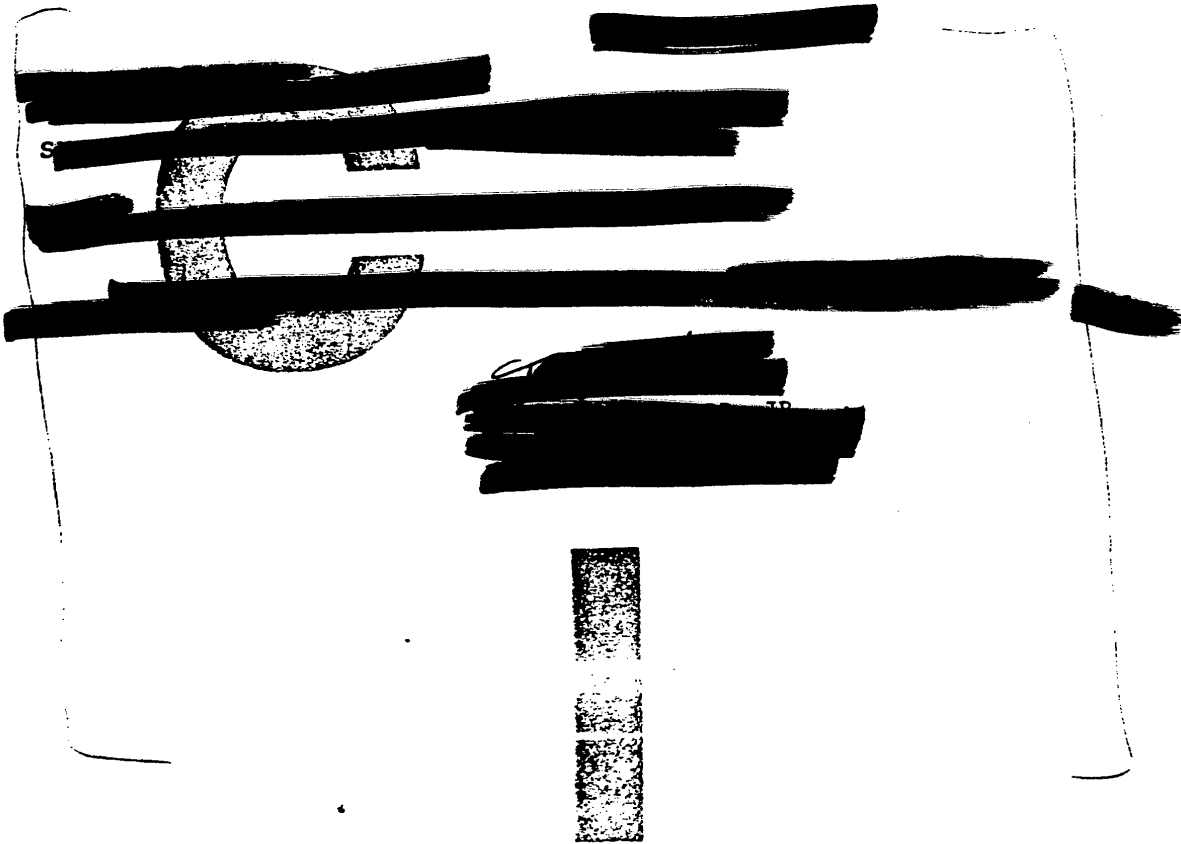
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Executive Registry 23009

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

TOP SECRET



Classified By NSA/CSSM 123-2
Declassify On: Automatic Downgrading Schedule

NOFORN

TOP SECRET

TAPE 11 SIDE A

((APARENTLY SOME MISSED IN THE CHANGING OF TAPES.))

SAMII: THE EXPLANATIONS THAT I'VE GIVEN ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF THESE FORCES ARE ON THIS PAPER

NORTH: I'LL GO BACK, AND THE NEXT TIME WE GET TOGETHER, I'LL SEE IF I CAN GET SOME ANSWERS TO SOME OF THESE THINGS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII: TELL HIM THAT THIS IS ON THE 1:250,000 MAP ALSO.

((ROLLING OUT MAPS. EVERYONE TALKING AT ONCE.))

CAVE: HE ((SAMII)) WANTS TO KNOW TO WHAT DEGREE YOU ACCEPT HIS EXPLANATION OF THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN.

NORTH: IT'S VERY PARALLEL TO OURS. EXCEPT IN TERMS OF THE TIME LINE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: ONE OF THE REASONS WHY THIS DISCUSSION...

SAMII:YOU MEAN EXCEPT FOR THE TWO YEAR PERIOD THAT I GAVE?

CAVE: RIGHT.

SAMII: ASK HIM WHAT HIS VIEW IS?

NORTH: YOU ARE TALKING TWO YEARS. WE'RE CONCERNED THIS IS WHY THIS DISCUSSION IS SO VERY IMPORTANT TO OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS. I HAVE TO GO BACK AND TELL MY PRESIDENT WHERE WE ARE HEADED IN TERMS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND IRAN, SO THAT HE KNOWS HOW TO HANDLE WHAT WE EXPECT THE RUSSIANS TO SAY ABOUT AFGHANISTAN AT THE END OF THIS WEEK. OUR ESTIMATE IS THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE GOING TO MAKE PROPOSALS ON AFGHANISTAN ON FRIDAY TO TALK ABOUT PULLING OUT IN THE NEXT 6 TO 12 MONTHS--COMPLETELY PULL OUT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND THEY ARE GOING TO ASK US TO MAKE ABSOLUTE GUARANTEES OF NO MORE HELP TO THE MUJAHEDIN.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII: DO YOU THINK THAT IF YOU GIVE THESE GUARANTEES, THE RUSSIANS WILL PULL OUT?

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: YES. BECAUSE OH, THEY'LL LEAVE THE KGB BEHIND. BUT THE ARMY WILL PULL OUT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

Classified by NSA/CSSM 123-2

Declassify On: Originating Agency's Determination Required

Section 23011

SAMII: ((INAUDIBLE))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE IS SURE THAT WHENEVER THEY PULL OUT, THEY WILL LEAVE AT LEAST 20 THOUSAND OF THEIR ADVISORS BEHIND.

NORTH: OH SURE, ADVISORS BUT I'M TALKING ABOUT MILITARY UNITS.

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) THEY BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE JUST GOING TO CHANGE THE SHAPE OF THEIR PRESENCE.

NORTH: YEAH. THIS IS REALLY IMPORTANT. WHAT WE EXPECT THE SOVIETS TO DO IS TO PUT SO MUCH PRESSURE ON PAKISTAN THAT WE CAN'T HELP ANYMORE?

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII: THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT MATTER. ESPECIALLY AS IT RELATES TO THE SECURITY OF PAKISTAN WHICH IS EVEN NOW BEING THREATENED BY THE RUSSIANS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THAT'S TRUE. SECOND, MY PRESIDENT KNOWS THAT WITHOUT... IF WE LOSE THE RELATIONSHIP WITH PAKISTAN, AND HELP THE MUJAHEDIN, WE'VE GOT TO HAVE ANOTHER WAY OF HELPING.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WHAT IS THE ONLY OTHER COUNTRY THROUGH WHICH WE CAN HELP?

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII: GOD HAS TAKEN THE SKY AWAY FROM YOU ((LAUGHTER.))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII: THIS IS SOMETHING THAT WE HAVE PREPARED FOR THE MUJAHEDIN TO USE WHEN THEY GO TO THEIR FORTIFICATIONS.

HAKIM: THIS IS A SMALL MAP THAT THEY HAVE PREPARED FOR THE MUJAHEDIN TO USE IN ACTION.

SAMII:

HAKIM: THIS IS THE SPEECH OF THE IMAM KHOMEINI SAYING THAT HE PLEDGES TO SUPPORT THE MUJAHEDIN. THIS IS WHAT THEY GIVE TO THE MUJAHEDIN. IT IS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER. IT GIVES THEM THE PRELIMINARY SUPPORT FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL....

SAMII:

HAKIM: IT IS DIVIDED INTO SECTIONS AND THEY REFER TO THIS AND THEY CAN READ IT HERE.

NORTH: BY FRIDAY, WE HAVE TO GO TELL THE RUSSIANS. BASED ON A KNOWLEDGE AS TO WHETHER OR NOT WE'RE MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION WITH IRAN.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

Executive

23012

[REDACTED]

((TIME OUT WHILE SOMEONE GOES TO BATHROOM. GENERAL CHATTER.))

NORTH: LET ME JUST FINISH ABOUT THE BUSINESS OF WHAT WE EXPECT THE RUSSIANS TO DO. WE EXPECT THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE PROBABLY GOING TO MAKE AN EFFORT TO TERMINATE ALL ASSISTANCE TO THE AFGHANI MUJAHEDIN.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: MY INSTRUCTIONS ARE THAT THE PRESIDENT NEEDS TO KNOW WHERE WE ARE GOING IN OUR RELATIONSHIP SO THAT WE KNOW HOW TO RESPOND TO THAT. BECAUSE THE SOVIETS WILL MAKE THEIR PROPOSAL PUBLICLY KNOWN, AND THE SOVIET PROPOSAL WILL SOUND VERY VERY PEACEFUL, AND THIS IS THE MAN OF PEACE, AND HE WANTS TRANQUILITY AND ALL THAT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WHEN I CALLED BACK THIS MORNING, WHEN WE SENT THE MESSAGE IN OUR LITTLE MACHINE THERE, WHEREVER THE HELL THAT IS, I WAS ASKED, WHERE ARE WE GOING? DO WE HAVE A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN THAT WE CAN BE SURE THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE?

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND OBVIOUSLY THAT IS GOVERNED BY HOW QUICKLY THE PRESIDENT CAN PUT TOGETHER A CONSENSUS IN HIS POLICY ADVISORS THAT WE ARE MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION TOGETHER.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: ALL OF THE THINGS THAT YOU HAVE ASKED ME TO DO, ARE POSSIBLE. WE CAN GO TO THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS AND START TALKING TO THEM IN REASSURANCE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND I CAN GET THE INTELLIGENCE THAT YOU HAVE ASKED US TO GET. BUT ALL OF THAT IS GOING TO BE DETERMINED BY THE SENSE THAT WE ARE ABLE TO COMMUNICATE. THE THREE OF US WHEN WE GO HOME, AS OUR REPRESENTATIVES ON THIS COMMITTEE, AS TO WHERE WE ARE GOING.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WE HAVE EVEN BROUGHT WITH US A SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF INFORMATION TO GIVE TO YOU REGARDING THE IRAN-IRAQ SITUATION.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND WE ARE PREPARED TO GIVE YOU A DETAILED BRIEFING AND LEAVE WITH YOU A MAP

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THAT'S ENOUGH SERMON.

HAKIM: ((AFTER CONFERRING QUIETLY WITH SAMII)) I'M GOING TO TRANSLATE SOME THINGS AND THEN PLEASE HOLD YOUR ANSWER, UNTIL I GET BACK, AND TRY TO UNDERSTAND SOMETHING. HE SAYS. HAVE YOU GENTLEMEN.

[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

I HAVE EXPLAINED THAT EACH ONE OF YOU IS GOING TO FORM HIS OWN INDEPENDENT OPINION OF THIS MEETING. AND THE THREE OF YOU HAVE TO AGREE AS TO THE DIRECTION THAT THIS MEETING IS GOING. AND HIS QUESTION IS, HAVE YOU BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE TO WHERE THE DIRECTION OF THE MEETING IS GOING. PLEASE DO NOT GIVE ANY ANSWER. THAT WAS THE TRANSLATION.

NORTH: NOW ((WORD UNCLEAR)) GIVE OUR ANSWER. ((LAUGHTER.))

HAKIM: NO. NO. BECAUSE THERE IS. I KNOW EXACTLY...

SECOND: WE DON'T KNOW, BUT HE KNOWS. ((LAUGHTER))

HAKIM: NO. LET ME EXPLAIN THIS TO YOU. IRANIANS IMPLY, IRANIANS DO NOT COME TO THE POINT AND SPELL IT OUT. AND I'M GOING TO TELL HIM UNLESS HE WILL COME OUT AND SPELL IT OUT, THERE IS NOT GOING TO BE ANY GODDAMN GUESSWORK. THAT'S WHAT I'M TRYING TO SAY. ((THEN SPEAKING TO SAMII IN PERSIAN, HE SAYS)) WHEN AN AMERICAN MAKES A REPORT, HE CANNOT SAY, "MY IMPRESSION WAS SUCH AND SUCH." HE MUST SAY, "THEY SAID SUCH AND SUCH." ((MORE ALONG THIS LINE.)) ((THEN, SPEAKING TO NORTH, HE SAID)) NOW, PLEASE GO AHEAD AND ANSWER.

NORTH: YES, IN GENERAL. WE HAVE CERTAINLY THE SENSE THAT WE ARE PROCEEDING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, BUT PERHAPS TOO SLOWLY. AND TIME, AS WE SAY IN AMERICA, TIME'S A WASTING. I MEAN, WHAT WE REALLY NEED TO DO IS TO GET ON WITH A NUMBER OF VERY VERY WELL-HANDLED SPECIFICS THAT ALLOW US TO MOVE IN THE DIRECTION WE BOTH WANT TO GO.

HAKIM: MAY I RECOMMEND, NOT BE A POLITICIAN AND GIVE STRAIGHT FORWARD ANSWERS. I SEE CONTRADICTIONS. WE SAY YES, AND THEN LATER ON WE SAY WE WANT SPECIFICS.

NORTH: LOOK. IT IS VERY CLEAR TO ME THAT HE AND I WANT TO TAKE OUR GOVERNMENTS AND GO IN A SPECIFIC DIRECTION.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: IT WOULD BE ONE THING FOR ME TO GO HOME AND ADVOCATE A SEALIFT AND AIRLIFT OF ESSENTIAL ITEMS FOR IRAN, AND HAVE MY ASS HANDED TO ME BECAUSE I CAN'T CONVINCE MY LEADERSHIP OF THE NEED TO DO THOSE THINGS... OR THE WISDOM OF DOING THOSE THINGS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND HE MIGHT WANT TO GO BACK HOME TO IRAN AND DECIDE THAT THEY WANT TO OPEN AN AMERICAN EMBASSY IN TEHRAN, AND NOT BE ABLE TO CONVINCE HIS LEADERSHIP OF THE SAME THING.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) THE SAME PROVERB EXISTS FOR BOTH OF US, I.E., "THE DONKEY DOESN'T ALWAYS SEE THE DATES."

NORTH: SO WHAT WE NEED TO DO, AND I THINK WE NEED TO DO IT RELATIVELY SOON, BECAUSE TIME IS RUNNING OUT, WE NEED TO DECIDE WHAT VERY PRACTICAL THINGS, BETWEEN THOSE TWO NICE OBJECTIVES THAT I JUST DESCRIBED, WHAT PRACTICAL THINGS CAN WE DO TO GET ON WITH THE BUSINESS OF PROCEEDING WITH THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) ((IN PERSIAN)) FROM THE BEGINNING IT WAS CLEAR THAT WE WANT TO GO ON A COURSE OF COOPERATION WITH ONE ANOTHER. YOUR NEEDS AND OUR NEEDS BOTH ((WORD UNCLEAR.)) BUT AS OF YET, THERE IS NO PRACTICAL PLAN AVAILABLE, WITH A SCHEDULE AND WITH AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE VARIOUS STEPS WHICH CAN BE SCHEDULED.. ((FEW WORDS)) NOTHING TANGIBLE IS IN HAND.

NORTH: NOW, YOU HAVE ASKED US FOR INTELLIGENCE. WE ARE PREPARED TO PROVIDE, AT LEAST INITIALLY, A START ON THAT INTELLIGENCE. YOU HAVE ASKED US FOR SOME MAPS. WE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF ACQUIRING THOSE MAPS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WHEN ALI WAS IN WASHINGTON A FEW WEEKS AGO, HE ASKED US FOR A LIST OF CERTAIN ITEMS OF MILITARY HARDWARE. SOME OF THOSE ARE EASIER TO DO THAN OTHERS, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO MOVE ON THOSE THINGS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: TODAY, YOU ASKED ME FOR SOME MORE INFORMATION. AND I'M GOING TO GO OUT AND GO FIND IT AND GET BACK TO YOU ON THAT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: I THINK THOSE ARE PRACTICAL NEXT STEPS THAT WE CAN TAKE ON OUR SIDE. MY FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM IS THE SAME ONE THAT WE TALKED ABOUT WHEN ALI WAS IN WASHINGTON. WE HAVE IN OUR DEMOCRACY A PERCEPTION PROBLEM OF A MAJOR OBSTACLE THAT SITS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD OF PROGRESS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: MY SENSE IS THAT IN ORDER TO PROGRESS ON THE VARIOUS ISSUES, IN A WAY IN WHICH WE DO NOT EXPOSE THIS RELATIONSHIP PREMATURELY, OR IN A WAY THAT DOES NOT CREATE A SENSE THAT THE SOVIETS FEEL THE NEED TO INTERVENE -- WITH EITHER THE KGB OR MILITARILY-- WE NEED TO WORK VERY QUIETLY TO ACCOMPLISH CERTAIN THINGS TOGETHER, AND TO BUILD THAT RELATIONSHIP I THINK MUCH THE SAME WAY YOU AND I HAVE TALKED FOR. I WOULD LIKE TO PUT, BASICALLY, A SCHEDULE OF HOW WE GROW THAT RELATIONSHIP TOGETHER, BEFORE MY PRESIDENT WHEN WE GO HOME.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

((SAMII AND HAKIM DISCUSS HOW SAMII SHOULD ANSWER.))

HAKIM: GENTLEMEN. I THINK WE ARE COMING TO AN UNDERSTANDING. I FELT THAT ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR.)) AND I HAD TO DRAW SOMETHING TO EXPLAIN THAT. WHAT HAS HAPPENED, YOU KNOW, ISSUES I REPRESENT IN THE FORM OF BRANCHES... WERE TALKED ABOUT AND ALMOST AGREED ON, BOTH ON THE IRANIAN SIDE AND THE AMERICAN SIDE, THAT THERE WAS NO GODDAMN STEM HERE TO HOOK THESE THINGS TO -- TO GET AT ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR.)) AND NOW HE EXPLAINS TO ME THAT, YES HE UNDERSTANDS THAT HE HAS TO DO THAT, BUT THERE ARE IMPORTANT ISSUES THAT YOU HAVE NOT CLARIFIED FOR THEM. THEREFORE THEY CAN NOT COME AND PUT THIS SKELETON TOGETHER FOR THE DISCUSSION. SUCH AS, IT IS NOT CLEAR TO THEM WHAT YOUR POLICY IS IN CONNECTION WITH SADDAM HUSAIN. THE MESSAGE THAT WAS SENT? WAS A LITTLE BIT UNCLEAR.

Executive Order

23015

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE TOWS THAT ARE TO BE SHIPPED. HE SAID IT IS NOT CLEAR. I SAID THAT I DISAGREE; IT IS VERY CLEAR. WE ALL STUCK OUR NECKS OUT AND STARTED TO PACK THE DAMN THINGS SO WE CAN DELIVER THEM IN THE NEXT EIGHT DAYS....

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) WHAT ARE THESE ITEMS THAT ARE EASY FOR YOU TO HANDLE AND WHAT ARE THE DIFFICULT ONES? WE'RE GETTING TACTICAL HERE. THE ISSUE IS THIS LIST. HE WANTS TO KNOW IF YOU ARE GOING TO GIVE THEM, HOW MANY, AND WHEN. HE WANTS TO BE ABLE TO WRITE IN FRONT OF THESE ITEMS.

NORTH: GO AHEAD AND GO DOWN THE LIST THEN.

HAKIM: OKAY. THIS IS THE 108 155'S TOGETHER WITH 500 BARRELS.

NORTH: OKAY. YOU'RE TALKING SHIPLOADS OF STUFF. LET ME START AT THE OTHER END. LET'S START IN CHRONOLOGICAL TERMS. BASED ON WHAT YOU HAVE TOLD ME SEVERAL DAYS AGO.... DID YOU EXPLAIN THE VERY DIFFICULT PROCESS, BECAUSE WE DON'T HAVE A FORMAL DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION, WE DON'T HAVE F.M.S. SALES, IT IS A VERY DIFFICULT PROCESS WE HAVE TO GO THROUGH TO GET THIS WITHOUT EVERYBODY IN THE WORLD KNOWING WHAT WE'RE DOING. HAS THAT BEEN EXPLAINED?

HAKIM: ((ASKS SAMII IF HE UNDERSTANDS. SAMII SAYS HE DOES.))

NORTH: OKAY. BECAUSE THAT HAS CREATED ENORMOUS COMPLICATIONS WITH MR. GHORBANIFAR AND MR. KANGARLU BECAUSE

CAVE: AND ALSO FOR SAMI.

NORTH: OH YEAH. JUST TERRIBLE PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF THE METHOD THAT WE HAVE TO USE TO OBTAIN THESE ITEMS. BASED ON WHAT YOU HAD TOLD ME SEVERAL DAYS AGO, I PUT MY ASS ON THE LINE WITH THE PARENT COMPANY--A COMMERCIAL COMPANY THAT WE USE TO HIDE THIS--AND WE STARTED ORDERING UP AND PACKING 500 TOWS AND THE REMAINDER OF THE HAWK PARTS THAT WE HAD AVAILABLE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) ADDS THAT MATERIAL CAN BE IN TEHRAN WITHIN 8 OR 9 WORKING DAYS.

NORTH: THIS INCLUDES 285 HAWK PARTS AND 500 TOWS. 27 LINE ITEMS AND A TOTAL OF 285 PARTS.

SECORD: PLUS THREE PALLETS OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES.

NORTH: FOR WHICH THERE IS NO CHARGE.

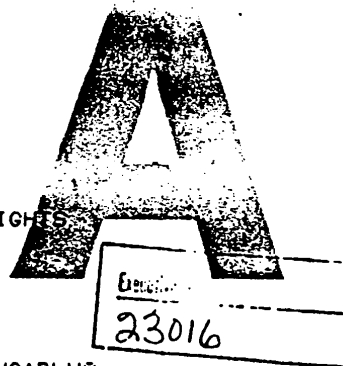
HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THAT WAS ORDERED. ((THERE WILL BE)) TWO FLIGHTS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII: ((INAUDIBLE))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)) BY KANGARLU?



NORTH: YES.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) KANGARLU HAS DENIED THAT HE HAS ASKED FOR THESE 27 LINE ITEMS.

NORTH: OH, COME ON! THAT'S INCREDIBLE. DID YOU TAKE THIS BACK WITH YOU? ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) WE GIVE YOU A COPY OF THAT?

HAKIM: HE ((SAMII)) HAS A QUESTION TO ASK. THE 285 HAWKS, ARE THEY DIFFERENT THAN THE 240?

NORTH: NO THESE ARE PART OF THE 240. WHEN WE SHIPPED THE FIRST SHIPMENT, THAT ARRIVED AFTER SOME OF WHICH CAME IN WHILE WE WERE IN TEHRAN, WE BROUGHT IN WITH US, AND THE REST OF IT CAME IN AFTER JENCO WAS RELEASED. THAT WAS ALL WE HAD AVAILABLE FROM THAT LIST OF 240 AT THAT TIME.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THIS IS THE ACTUAL LIST THAT WAS GIVEN TO US BY KANGARLU, AND GHORBANIFAR GAVE US THE SAME LIST.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: SO WE WERE ASKED TO.....

((END OF SIDE "A" TAPE 11))

((SOME CONVERSATION MISSED WHILE TAPE WAS BEING TURNED.))

NORTH: IT'S IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND WHY WE DIDN'T HAVE THEM ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)). THE HAWK SYSTEM YOU HAVE, WE DON'T USE ANYMORE.

HAKIM: HE KNOWS THAT.

NORTH: AND SO IT'S NOT UNUSUAL TO BE OUT OF CERTAIN PARTS IN THAT SYSTEM.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: HE APPARENTLY HAD GREAT. ... AFTER THE ORIGINAL ARRANGEMENT ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)) NO FORMAL WRITTEN CONTRACT, BUT AN UNDERSTANDING, THEN THERE APPEARED A GREAT CONTROVERSY WITH KANGARLU AND WITH GHORBANIFAR OVER WHAT HAD BEEN PAID FOR, NOT BEEN PAID FOR--TO BE VERY HONEST IT WAS ALMOST REASON FOR EVERYBODY ON OUR SIDE TO SAY, "FORGET ABOUT IT." BECAUSE WHAT EVERYBODY LOOKED AT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) ALL THE DAMN PHONE CALLS TO ME FROM THE INTERMEDIARY, FROM HIM... IT WAS CRAZY. OKAY.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: SO WE WENT BACK AND WE TOLD THEM, SOMEWHERE AROUND THE 13TH OF SEPTEMBER, WHAT IT WAS WE HAD NOW COLLECTED UP. HE'D GONE OUTAIN SOME CASES AND ACTUALLY BOUGHT FROM THE PRODUCER, HAD THEM MAKE SOME PARTS TO MAKE UP THE BALANCE OF THAT ORIGINAL REQUISITION...

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

23017

CAVE: WE HAD THE U.S. ARMY GO GET THEM.

NORTH: YEAH. IT WAS A VERY SECRET PROCESS, SO THAT WE DON'T HAVE EVERYBODY IN THE WORLD LOOKING AT IT. AND THAT IS AN EXPENSIVE PROCESS. MUCH OF THAT WORK HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE. PARTS HAVE BEEN ASSEMBLED, SOME OF THEM PACKED. WE STOPPED EVERYTHING WHEN YOU TOLD ME THERE WAS NO MONEY LAST WEEK. WE STOPPED EVERYTHING.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WE HAVE ALSO TAKEN STEPS TO OBTAIN THE TWO RADARS THAT WERE ASKED FOR.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WE HAVE IDENTIFIED TWO RADARS THAT ARE PHASE TWO RADARS; THAT'S THE NEXT GENERATION OF HAWK SYSTEMS. AND WE HAVE TOLD THE ARMY TO PREPARE. NOW, I HAVEN'T DONE THIS. I DON'T WANT THE ARMY TO SEE THE WHITE HOUSE BEING IN ON THIS. THIS IS ALL BEING DONE BY SAM ((LAUGHTER)) SAM'S COMPANY.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: ...TO PREPARE TO REVERSE ENGINEER THOSE ITEMS AND TO PACK THEM FOR AIR TRANSPORT TO A PORT WHICH IS RELATIVELY NEARBY WHERE WE CAN FLY THEM IN AND TRANSLOAD THEM ONTO A SHIP THAT CAN BRING THEM IN TO BANDAR ABBAS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WE HAVE ALSO TAKEN STEPS TO IDENTIFY IN THE ARSENALS OR, IF YOU WILL, THE BUNKERS, ADDITIONAL TOWS TO BE MOVED VERY QUICKLY.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: NOW THERE ARE REASONS FOR THAT, ALRIGHT? FIRST OF ALL, YOU HAVE THE TOWS ALREADY; YOU DON'T NEED A WHOLE BUNCH OF TRAINING ON THE TOWS, AND THEY CAN BE AIRLIFTED VERY QUICKLY.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THERE IS ALSO A PHILOSOPHICAL REASON. OUR PRESIDENT HAS TOLD ME TO TELL YOU--AND I TOLD ALI--THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO HELP IRAN DEFEND ITSELF AND TO MAINTAIN ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THE ITEMS THAT WE HAVE IDENTIFIED CAN BE MOVED QUICKLY, AND ARE PRINCIPALLY DEFENSIVE IN NATURE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THEY ARE ALSO ITEMS THAT YOU ALREADY HAD, AND ARE NOT GOING TO BE VISIBLY, BY THE SOVIETS, SUDDENLY DETECTABLE AS SOMETHING NEW AND DIFFERENT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THE ARTILLERY AND OTHER WEAPONS THAT WERE ON THAT LIST, AS I INDICATED TO MR. KANGARLU ALMOST A YEAR AGO, ANYTHING IS POSSIBLE.

Executive

23018

BUT WE HAVE GOT TO TAKE STEPS THAT DO NOT INDEED COMPROMISE US IN THE EYES OF OUR OWN PEOPLE AND IN TERMS OF THE REST OF THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ARAB WORLD AND WITH THE SOVIETS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

((SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS GOING ON AT ONCE IN BACKGROUND.))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) THEY HAVE THE MONEY AVAILABLE FOR THE 500 TONS RIGHT NOW. TODAY, THEY CAN GIVE TO US ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR.)) I UNDERSTAND THAT'S ONE SHIPLOAD, RIGHT?

NORTH: PLANELOAD.

((SAMII AND HAKIM TALK TOGETHER. CAVE AND NORTH TALKING TOGETHER. CAN'T MAKE OUT EITHER OF THE CONVERSATIONS.))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) OKAY. LET ME GIVE YOU THE ((WORD UNCLEAR)) IN A NUTSHELL. WHAT HAS BEEN GOING ON BACK AND FORTH. SAM HAS TRANSLATED SOME OF IT. THE BOTTOM LINE IS THAT THEY HAVE CHANGED THEIR ORDER OF PRIORITIES. THEIR IS A LIST OF EIGHT ITEMS, AND ITEM EIGHT WHICH IS IN THEIR REQUIREMENT IS THE HAWK MISSILES. THEY LIKE... THEIR POSITION IS... ALSO RESOLVE THE OTHER SEVEN ITEMS AS TO WHAT OUR HERE THAT I HAVE TO GO BACK AND ASK HIM BECAUSE BEFORE WE SAY THAT IN EIGHT DAYS WE WILL BE READY TO SHIP THE, UH, GIVE US THE MONEY TO SEND THE HAWK MISSILES, I DON'T KNOW HOW HE'S GOING TO FILL IN THE GAP HERE. I'LL GO BACK AND CLARIFY THIS AND GET BACK TO YOU. I HAVE A PROBLEM HERE, I DON'T UNDERSTAND MR. SAMII HERE. ON THE ONE HAND HE SAYS THAT THE PRIORITY HAS CHANGED; PRIORITY ONE, WHICH WAS FORMERLY THE HAWK SPARES, IS ITEM EIGHT. AND THEN EARLIER HE TOLD ME THAT IN EIGHT DAYS HE IS GOING TO PAY FOR THE HAWK PARTS. I SEE A CONTRADICTION HERE THAT I CANNOT DIGEST IN MY COMPUTER. AND I NEED TO GO BACK AND CLARIFY THIS UNLESS IT'S CLEAR TO YOU GENTLEMEN. IS IT CLEAR TO YOU

NORTH: NO. BUT LET ME JUST GO ONE STEP FURTHER, BECAUSE I HAVE TAKEN THIS LIST, AND I HAVE TAKEN IT TO THE PRESIDENT. AND HE IS VERY CLEAR ON IT.

HAKIM: ((EXPLAINS THE APPARENT CONTRADICTION TO SAMII. SAMII EXPLAINS AND HAKIM SAYS, IN ENGLISH)) OKAY. AGAIN THERE WAS A MISUNDERSTANDING ON ?THAT HAWK? WHICH IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO UNDERSTAND. ASSUMING THAT YOU SAY THAT YOU CANNOT SUPPLY THE SEVEN ITEMS.

NORTH: NO ONE SAID THAT.

HAKIM: NO, NO. I DIDN'T SAY THAT YOU SAID THAT. I KNOW WHAT YOU HAVE SAID. YOU HAVE TOLD ALI, AND YOU HAVE TOLD EVERYBODY. YOU ARE GOING OVER THE SAME THING. BUT I'M TRYING TO ESTABLISH A FOUNDATION FOR OUR ((WORD UNCLEAR)). I'D LIKE TO SAVE THE REPUTATION OF MY IRANIAN FRIENDS HERE, OKAY? THAT'S WHAT I'M AFTER. REALLY. THE ORDER OF PRIORITY HAS NOT CHANGED. AND I WANT YOU GENTLEMEN TO UNDERSTAND THAT. HE SAYS TODAY IF YOU DON'T GIVE US THE SEVEN ITEMS, THEY WILL GO AHEAD AND BUY THE HAWK PARTS. ((CONFERS QUIETLY WITH SAMII)) ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR.)) ONE OF THEM IS FINANCIAL.

CAVE: IN OTHER WORDS THEY WANT TO GET THE MOST FOR THEIR MONEY

NORTH: THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT. MAYBE BEFORE WE EVEN HOLD THIS DISCUSSION.

Executive Registry

23019

YOU OUGHT TO SEE THE INTELLIGENCE ON IRAQ THAT WE'VE GOT. WHAT I'M TRYING TO DO FOR YOU...AND I'VE SPENT 25 YEARS OF MY LIFE IN THE MILITARY...THAT'S IMPORTANT...

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WHAT THE PRESIDENT TOLD ME TO DO WAS TO BUILD THE BEST POSSIBLE INTELLIGENCE THAT WE COULD ON THE IRAQI WAR. WE DIDN'T GIVE YOU A FULL INTELLIGENCE PACKAGE BACK IN FEBRUARY.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: BASED ON THE INTELLIGENCE OF WHAT WE THINK WE KNOW ABOUT THE IRAQIS, AND BASED ON OUR INTELLIGENCE ABOUT WHAT WE KNOW OF YOUR MILITARY SITUATION, AND THAT WE THINK THE SOVIETS WOULD DO IF THEY BECAME AWARE OF WHAT WE WERE DOING TOGETHER, PREPARE A LIST OF MOST NEEDED ITEMS THAT WE WOULD RECOMMEND TO YOU...

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: HE ONLY PUT ONE CONSTRAINT ON WHAT I DID. "YOU WILL NOT," HE SAID TO ME, "RECOMMEND ITEMS THAT WOULD ALLOW OR ENCOURAGE THE IRANIAN ARMY OR THE PASDARAN TO SEIZE BAGHDAD."

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) ISN'T IT YOUR UNDERSTANDING FROM EVERYTHING THAT YOU HAVE SEEN THAT BAGHDAD IS NOT ONE OF THEIR OBJECTIVES?

NORTH: MY FRIEND, I UNDERSTAND THAT. I ACTUALLY BELIEVE THAT BUT I ONE HELL OF A TIME CONVINCING PEOPLE LIKE CASPER WINEBERGER AND GEORGE SHULTZ.....

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND THAT'S AN IMPORTANT FACTOR HERE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT YOU...THEY DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THEY COULD SEIZE FAW, BUT THEY DID.

NORTH: THAT'S WHAT SCARED THE HELL OUT OF CASPER WEINBERGER AND GEORGE SHULTZ. ((LAUGHS))

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THEY ARE NOT GOING TO WAIT FOR SHULTZ AND WEINBERGER TO SEIZE BAGHDAD.

NORTH: ((LAUGHING)) I UNDERSTAND THAT.

SAMII:

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HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) AND IF THEY DO, IT WILL BE TOO LATE.

SAMII: TELL HIM THAT I'M JUST JOKING.

NORTH: WEINBERGER, IN OUR LAST SESSION WITH THE PRESIDENT, SAID, "I DON'T THINK WE SHOULD SEND ONE MORE SCREW--TALKING ABOUT THE HAWK PARTS--UNTIL WE HAVE OUR AMERICANS BACK FROM BEIRUT. BECAUSE WHEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FIND OUT THAT THIS HAS HAPPENED, THEY'LL IMPEACH YOU, TALKING TO THE PRESIDENT."

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: HE AND I WENT THROUGH THE LIST WITH THE GENERAL AND THE ADVICE THAT WE PROVIDED WITHIN THE GUIDANCE THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD GIVEN US, AND, AGAIN, BASED ON WHAT WE KNOW IS GOING ON IN THE REGION, AND WHAT WE EXPECT OF THE IRAQI PLANS, WAS: IMPROVE AIR DEFENSE IMMEDIATELY, PROVIDE ANTI-ARMOR DEFENSE; AND GET YOU THE INTELLIGENCE YOU NEED SO THAT YOU DON'T DECIMATE WHAT'S LEFT OF THE PASDARAN; AND THEN SEE WHERE WE'RE GOING BEFORE WE MOVE ANY OF THIS. HE, THE PRESIDENT, DIDN'T SAY NO TO ANY OF THIS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND WHEN HE'S TALKING ABOUT "SEE WHERE WE GO," WHAT HE IS TALKING ABOUT IS, VERY PRACTICALLY, SEEING WHERE WE ARE GOING WITH THE WAR. THERE'S NO POINT IN YOU SPENDING A BILLION DOLLARS, OR WHATEVER THAT COMES TO... I HAVE NO IDEA WHAT ALL THAT COSTS... IF YOU DON'T NEED IT BECAUSE THE WAR IS GOING TO BE OVER.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) COULD YOU GIVE YOUR RECOMMENDATION ABOUT THIS LIST, BECAUSE THIS LIST IS BASED ON AN OPERATIONAL PLAN THAT THEY HAVE...

NORTH: I UNDERSTAND THAT.

HAKIM: AND THEY WANT TO UNDERSTAND YOUR COMMENTS ABOUT THESE LISTS.

NORTH: I THINK, AFTER HE HAS SEEN THE INTELLIGENCE, MY PRAYER FOR THOUSANDS OF YOUNG IRANIAN YOUNGSTERS, IS THAT SOMEBODY THINKS VERY CAREFULLY ABOUT THAT OFFENSIVE. OKAY?

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

((SAMII AND HAKIM TALK QUIETLY IN BACKGROUND. INAUDIBLY.))

((TIME OUT FOR NORTH AND CAVE TO MAKE PHONE CALLS.))

SECORD. LET ME THEN, WHILE YOU ARE DOING THAT, GO OVER THEN FOR MR. SAMII SOME OF THE THINGS WE SAID IN WASHINGTON ABOUT THIS LIST AND HOW IT RELATES TO THE... STEP BY STEP APPROACH TO IT AND THE HOSTAGES.

?HAKIM?: THEIR LIST OR OUR LIST?

SECORD: THEIR LIST.

NORTH: THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT WHAT WE DID WAS LOOK AT THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS... OKAY... I UNDERSTAND THE OFFENSIVE. I UNDERSTAND THE NEED

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FOR IT POLITICALLY WITHIN YOUR COUNTRY. THE PRESIDENT UNDERSTANDS THAT. OKAY. WE TOLD ALI WHEN HE WAS IN OUR COUNTRY THAT WE UNDERSTOOD AND RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR A PERCEPTIBLE VICTORY FOR THE IRANIAN PEOPLE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS FOR SAMII AS FOLLOWS)) YOU MUST BELIEVE THAT WE UNDERSTAND THAT YOU NEED THIS OFFENSIVE. THE PRESIDENT ALSO UNDERSTANDS. THEY ARE SENSITIVE TO THE DESIRE FOR A VICTORY BY THE IRANIAN PEOPLE. THESE ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)) HAVE BEEN SAID REPEATEDLY. WHAT THESE GENTLEMEN ARE SAYING IS NOT THAT YOU SHOULD NOT STAGE AN OFFENSIVE. WHAT THEY ARE SAYING IS ALONG THE LINES OF WHAT YOU SHOULD DO TO REACH YOUR OBJECTIVE. ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)) THERE ARE VARIOUS PATHS TO VICTORY. THE COURSE WHICH SHOULD BE CHOSEN CAN BE DISCERNED BETTER IF YOU ((FEW WORDS)) INFORMATION.

NORTH: THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID... AND I SAID THIS TO YOU... AND I FLEW UP TO CAMP DAVID TO TALK TO THE PRESIDENT... AND HE SAID, "I UNDERSTAND WHY WE SHOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO INSURE AN HONORABLE PEACE FOR IRAN."

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS, BUT SAYS "HONORABLE VICTORY" INSTEAD OF "HONORABLE PEACE"))

?BAHRAMANI? ((IN ENGLISH)) DON'T EXPLAIN THAT PLEASE.

HAKIM: WHY YOU DON'T EXPLAIN TO THEM HOW THEY CAN ACHIEVE VICTORY.

NORTH: BECAUSE I'M NOT SURE THAT OUR DEFINITIONS OF VICTORY ARE COMPLETELY COMPATIBLE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS HE CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY YOU CANNOT UNDERSTAND BECAUSE HE SAYS FOR THEM ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR))

NORTH: SADDAM HUSAIN. OKAY. AND I DON'T KNOW QUITE EXACTLY HOW THAT'S ALL GOING TO WORK. OKAY? ONE OF THE THINGS THAT WE WOULD LIKE TO DO IS THAT WE WOULD LIKE TO BECOME ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN ENDING THIS WAR IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT BECOMES VERY EVIDENT TO EVERYBODY THAT THE GUY WHO IS CAUSING THE PROBLEM IS SADDAM HUSAIN

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: RIGHT NOW... AND I JUST LAST FRIDAY TALKED TO THE KUWAITI FOREIGN MINISTER... IF I WERE TO TALK TO FIVE, OR IF I WERE TO TALK TO ANY OF THE OTHER MOSLEM LEADERS, THEY WOULDN'T SAY SADDAM HUSAIN IS THE PROBLEM. THEY'D SAY IRAN IS THE PROBLEM.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WHAT WE'RE TALKING ABOUT IS A PROCESS BY WHICH ALL THE REST OF THE ARAB WORLD COMES VERY QUICKLY TO REALIZE THAT IRAN IS NOT A THREAT TO THEM, IRAN IS NOT GOING TO OVERRUN KUWAIT, IRAN IS NOT GOING TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT OF SAUDI ARABIA, THAT THE REAL PROBLEM IN PREVENTING PEACE IN THE REGION IS SADDAM HUSAIN, AND THEY WE'LL HAVE TO TAKE CARE OF THAT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

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SAMII: THIS IS THE CONCLUSION THAT YOU HAVE REACHED?

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS AS)) DO YOU REALLY BELIEVE THIS?

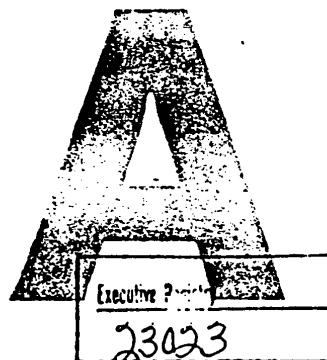
NORTH: YES. THE INNER CIRCLE OF OUR GOVERNMENT KNOWS THAT. THEY HAVE COME TO UNDERSTAND. THE ONLY THING THAT THREW A WRINKLE IN IT IS THE TWO NEW HOSTAGES.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SECGRD: LOOK. I WANT TO ADDRESS THIS LIST JUST AS WE DID IN WASHINGTON.

((SAMII AND HAKIM CONFER QUIETLY IN THE BACKGROUND. U.S. NEGOTIATORS TALK PRIVATELY AMONG THEMSELVES. SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS GOING ON A SIMULTANEOUSLY.))

((END OF TAPE 11))



[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

NOFORN
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(T A P E 12)

((TAPE BEGINS WITH HAKIM AND SAMII TALKING QUIETLY TOGETHER. AT TIMES, EVEN WHISPERING. ONLY A FEW PHRASES COULD BE HEARD. AT ONE POINT HAKIM SAYS, "THESE PEOPLE THINK THAT THEY ARE TALKING WITH ONE INTEGRATED GROUP, SO THAT IF YOU SAID ANYTHING IN FRONT OF ANY WHEN HE WAS THERE, THEY DON'T HAVE TO REPEAT IT ALL TO YOU THE NEXT TIME." THEN U.S. PARTIES ENTER THE ROOM AND SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS ARE TAKING PLACE SIMULTANEOUSLY. THEN TALKS RESUME.))

SECCRD: BEFORE YOU GO TO THIS ?INTEL?, MAY I ADDRESS THIS LIST? I'M GOING TO ADDRESS THIS LIST. THERE ARE SOME TERRIFIC PRACTICAL PROBLEMS HERE. THERE ARE A COUPLE OF REAL, AS OPPOSED TO PHILOSOPHICAL, PROBLEMS WITH THIS LIST.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SECCRD: THE FIRST IS POLITICAL.

((SAMII LEAVES THE ROOM AT THIS POINT ?TO GO TO BATHROOM? AND U.S. NEGOTIATORS DISCUSS STRATEGY WITH HAKIM. PROBLEMS WITH ITEMS ON IRANIAN SHOPPING LIST. THEN MR. SAMII COMES BACK IN THE ROOM.))

SECCRD: THE FIRST PROBLEM IS POLITICAL. BASED UPON PREVIOUS OFFICIAL REQUESTS OF THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT, I.E. KANGARLU, AND VERIFIED, AND I WOULD UNDERLINE, DESPERATE REQUESTS FROM HIM, FOR TOWNS FOR HAWK PARTS AND FOR HIGH POWERED RADARS, WE HAVE ACHIEVED PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY FOR IMMEDIATE AIR DELIVERY OF THOSE ITEMS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SECCRD: KANGARLU CAN DENY THIS OR NOT DENY THIS. IT IS IRRELEVANT. WE HAVE DOCUMENTARY PROOF; IT'S NOT EVEN WORTH DISCUSSING.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SECCRD: AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. HAS APPROVED A SECRET OPERATION TO DELIVER THESE ITEMS IMMEDIATELY, AND WE WOULD HAVE ALREADY DELIVERED THEM EXCEPT THAT WE WERE ASKED TO HOLD UP SO THAT WE COULD HAVE THESE HIGHER LEVEL DISCUSSIONS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SECCRD: WHICH SEEMED REASONABLE TO US AND GOOD, BECAUSE WE WANTED TO HAVE A MORE RELIABLE, RATIONAL SYSTEM FOR DISCUSSIONS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SECCRD: WE ALSO, I HOPE, MADE CLEAR TO ALL IN WASHINGTON THAT WE DON'T REGARD THESE ITEMS BY THEMSELVES AS BEING PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT TO ACQUIRE--SOME OF THE LARGE NUMBERS, FOR INSTANCE, 10 THOUSAND 175 ROUNDS WOULD TAKE A LONG TIME.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

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CCRD: AND IF YOU TELL US THAT WHEN WE DELIVER THESE FIRST AIRPLANE LOADS THAT OUR HOSTAGES ARE GOING TO BE RELEASED, WE WILL START PRICING THESE AND GOING FOR POLITICAL AUTHORITY, AND GETTING ((FEW WORDS MISSED)), BUT WE CAN'T DARE GO OUT AND START DOING SOMETHING LIKE THIS UNTIL WE HAVE THE POLITICAL SUCCESS BEHIND US.

KIM: ((INTERPRETS, BUT HIS INTERPRETATION DIFFERS SOMEWHAT. HE SAID, IN PERSIAN)) THIS IS STILL PART OF THE POLITICAL PROBLEM. HE SAYS THAT WHEN WE ARE SURE THAT THE MATTER OF THE HOSTAGES HAS BEEN RESOLVED AND WE HAVE PUT THIS PROBLEM BEHIND US, ((INTERRUPTED BY KNOCK ON DOOR.))

CCRD: WE WOULD LOSE OUR SECRECY.

MII: WHEN YOU SAY THE ITEMS ARE NOT DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN, ((FEW WORDS MISSED))

KIM: ((IN PERSIAN)) IF YOU LOOK AT THESE ITEMS INDIVIDUALLY, IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN THEM, BUT JUST TO TAKE THE FIRST STEP, TO ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR)) ETC., IT IS NECESSARY TO ELIMINATE THIS POLITICAL PROBLEM. WE DO NOT DARE TO START STIR THINGS UP BY GETTING PRICES, ETC.... ((THEN, IN ENGLISH TO THE U.S. SIDE)) IF I MAY, AT THIS TIME, I FIND IT APPROPRIATE TO EXPLAIN TO HIM WHY THIS IS DIFFICULT TO START WITHOUT POLITICAL SUPPORT AND ADD WHAT YOU TOLD ME EARLIER.

RTH: LET ME, OKAY? EVERYTHING THAT THE GENERAL SAID IS ENTIRELY ACCURATE. WHEN WE LOOKED AT THIS LIST, WE ESTIMATED THAT, EXCLUDING THESE TWO ITEMS, THE HAWK AND THE TOWS, WE ARE LOOKING AT A MINIMUM OF FOUR SHIPLOADS OF EQUIPMENT.

KIM: ((INTERPRETS))

RTH: THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE IN THE U.S., AT A MINIMUM, WOULD KNOW ABOUT THAT.

KIM: ((INTERPRETS))

RTH: IF WE ARE GOING TO DO SOMETHING LIKE THIS, IT HAS TO BE VERY CLEAR THAT WE ARE DOING THIS BECAUSE WE ARE WORKING FOR A MILITARY BALANCE IN THE REGION AND A POLITICAL SOLUTION AND HONORABLE SOLUTION TO THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR.

KIM: ((INTERPRETS)) (BUT SAYS "THE WORLD MUST UNDERSTAND THAT WE ARE EMBARKING ON A COURSE TO CREATE A BALANCE OF POWER... THAT MUST BE THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE WORLD HAS...")

RTH: IN ORDER FOR US TO BE SEEN AS TAKING A POLITICAL ROLE IN ACHIEVING A BALANCE IN THE MILITARY SITUATION, OUR JUSTIFICATION FOR THAT, WE MUST BE ABLE TO TELL OTHER PEOPLE, TO INCLUDE OUR OWN PEOPLE, THAT WE ARE CARRYING ON A DIALOGUE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN.

KIM: ((INTERPRETS))

RTH: IN ORDER FOR US TO CARRY ON A DIALOGUE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN, THAT IS POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE TO OUR PEOPLE, WE MUST HAVE TAKEN THAT ROCK IN THE ROAD, THAT OBSTACLE, AND PUT IT BEHIND US.

KIM: ((INTERPRETS)) IT SPELLS OUT FOR THE IRANIS THAT THE "ROCK IN THE ROAD" IS A REFERENCE TO THE HOSTAGES

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[REDACTED]

NORTH: THAT SATURDAY WHEN ALI WAS IN WASHINGTON, AND I FLEW UP TO CAMP DAVID TO TALK TO THE PRESIDENT, AND I SHOWED HIM THE LIST, AND HE SAID, "WHY ARE YOU THINKING SO SMALL?"

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: HE TOOK THE LIST, THAT LIST RIGHT THERE, AND HE WENT LIKE THIS WITH IT-- WAS SITTING ACROSS THE TABLE--AND HE SAID, "FOR SOMEONE WHO HAS SEEN SO MUCH WAR AS YOU HAVE, NORTH, YOU SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT I WANT TO END THAT WAR ON TERMS THAT ARE ACCEPTABLE TO IRAN."

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: "... I DON'T WANT TO SIMPLY HELP GO OUT AND KILL MORE IRANIAN YOUNGSTERS. WHAT ABOUT THE 2 MILLION PEOPLE WITHOUT HOMES? WHAT ABOUT THE OIL INDUSTRY WHICH IS ALREADY IN RUINS? WHAT ABOUT THE INDUSTRIAL BASE OF IRAN WHICH IS BEING DESTROYED? STOP COMING IN AND LOOKING LIKE A GUN MERCHANT." AND HE BANGED ON THE TABLE. "I WANT TO END THE WAR."

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND EVERYTIME WE GET TO THE POINT WHERE WE CAN ACT IN THAT REGARD, WE FIND THIS OBSTACLE SITTING IN THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) ((ASKS FOR PERMISSION FROM THE U.S. NEGOTIATORS TO TALK WITH SAMII ABOUT THE ROLE HE IS PLAYING IN THIS.))

AVE: ((INTERPRETS WHAT HAKIM IS SAYING TO SAMII)) FROM THE FIRST DAY, AND IT WASN'T BASED ON YOUR OPINION OR MY OPINION, BUT THE FIRST THING THAT WE HAVE GOT TO GET RID OF IS THE HOSTAGE THING. AFTER A DAY AND A HALF, LOOK WHERE WE ARE.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) I THINK LIKE YOU DO IN THE EVALUATION OF THIS SUBJECT AND ITS SOLUTION.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) AND I ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT THE MAIN PROBLEM IS WHAT YOU JUST DISCOVERED.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) BUT HOW CAN I DEFEAT THE PRESTIGE AND HONOR OF MY COUNTRY WHILE I AM NOT CONVINCED THAT I HAVE SOMETHING IN HAND?

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) I SHOULD BE IN A POSITION WHEN I GO BACK AND TELL THE LEADERS OF IRAN THAT I WANT YOU TO PUT AT STAKE YOUR HONOR IN TRADE FOR THIS WHICH IS THE HONOR OF THE U.S.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) ADD TO THIS THE PROBLEMS THAT WE HAVE IN LEBANON.

SAMII: I WANT TO TELL YOU THAT IF THESE HOSTAGES WERE IN OUR POSSESSION, LIKE THE MATTER OF THE AMERICAN HOSTAGES IN IRAN, (FEW WORDS)

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[REDACTED]

MISSSED)) WE WOULD HAVE RESOLVED IT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WANTS YOU TO KNOW THAT IF THEY ACTUALLY HAD THEIR HANDS ON THE HOSTAGES IN IRAN ((SIC)) THIS SHOULD HAVE BEEN RESOLVED THE SAME DAY THAT THE OTHER HOSTAGES WERE RELEASED.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) AND I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT EVEN TODAY, AS I'M SITTING HERE, WE DO NOT HAVE A GUARANTEE THAT THE LEBANESE WOULD 100 PERCENT LISTEN TO WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) WE MUST PUT AT STAKE THE SUBSTANCE THAT WOULD BE EQUAL WITH OUR EXISTANCE.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) AND YOU KNOW THAT EVEN UP TO THIS DATE, IN CONNECTION WITH THE TEHRAN HOSTAGES WE ARE STILL ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) IN A MESS.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) THEREFORE, PLEASE UNDERSTAND MY PROBLEM. I CANNOT GO TO IRAN AND SAY FORGET ABOUT THE 500 MILLION DOLLARS IN THE HAGUE ISSUE. AND I DO NOT EXPECT IN THIS MEETING TO RESOLVE THAT.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) AND HE IS BEING CONTINUOUSLY REMINDED THAT IN A CASE THAT THERE WERE NO OTHER PARTIES INVOLVED, IF IT WAS ONLY IRAN AND THE U.S., THIS ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) STILL BE A MESS IN THE HAGUE. HOW THE SITUATION WOULD BE IF THERE WERE OTHER ELEMENTS INVOLVED.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) WE MUST UNDERSTAND WHAT MY ROLE IS. I HAVE TO GAIN THE IRANIAN CONFIDENCE AND THE LEBANESE CONFIDENCE.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) PLEASE SHOW ME THE WAY.

WORTH: LET ME GIVE YOU SOME AMMUNITION FOR YOUR GUNS. FIRST OF ALL, WE HAVE ALREADY IN AN EFFORT TO SHOW THAT WE ARE SINCERE AND THAT WE REALLY DO WANT TO HAVE CONTACT DIRECTLY WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT--AND A RELATIONSHIP--WE HAVE TAKEN THE FOLLOWING STEPS

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

WORTH: [WE SENT THROUGH TRUSTED EMISSARIES, PAKISTAN AND JAPAN, A VERY CLEAR STATEMENT THAT WE WANTED TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH YOU]

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

WORTH: SECOND, FOR MORE THAN A YEAR WE HAVE BEEN IN DIALOGUE WITH A MEMBER OF YOUR GOVERNMENT, MR. KANARLU, TO PROVE TO HIM THAT I WAS WHO I SAID I WAS SPEAKING FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. IN FEBRUARY I

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SAT IN HIS ROOM IN THIS CITY, PICKED UP THE PHONE, AND ORDERED THE DELIVERY OF 500 TOWS, AND 8 HOURS LATER, THEY ARRIVED AT BANDAR ABBAS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) AND I WAS THREE AND A HALF MILLION DOLLARS IN DEBT TO OUR GOVERNMENT.

NORTH: SINCE THEN, WE HAVE SHIPPED A 1000 MORE TOWS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WE DELIVERED ALL OF THE HAWK PARTS THAT HAVE BEEN REQUESTED THAT WE HAD ON HAND.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THE PRESIDENT SENT TO TEHRAN ONE OF HIS MOST TRUSTED ADVISORS. WHEN ALI WAS IN WASHINGTON, HE ASKED FOR A FURTHER SIGN THAT HE COULD TAKE BACK HOME ABOUT OUR SINCERITY.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: HE MENTIONED TWO THINGS SPECIFICALLY. THE VOICE OF AMERICA AND THE HAGUE. THE FOLLOWING FRIDAY, THE EXACT WORDS I TOLD HIM WERE BROADCAST OVER VOICE OF AMERICA.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WORDS THAT HE AND I HAD AGREED ON. AND, SINCE THEN, TWO BIG CASES IN THE HAGUE HAVE BEEN SETTLED.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: NOW IF YOU THINK THAT LIST OF WEAPONS IS A BIG PROBLEM, YOU OUGHT TO TRY THE HAGUE. OKAY? THAT'S A DIFFICULT PROBLEM. THE CLAIMS TRIBUNAL IS AN EVEN MORE DIFFICULT ISSUE TO WORK THAN THIS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) ((SAMI DOESN'T SEEM TO KNOW WHAT THE CLAIMS TRIBUNAL IS.))

NORTH: THAT IS BECAUSE MOST OF THE CASES IN THE HAGUE ARE PRIVATE COMPANIES WHO HAVE A COURT CASE INVOLVING THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THERE IS RELATIVELY LITTLE U.S. GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN THAT ACTIVITY.

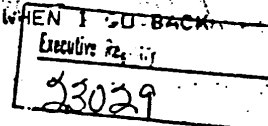
HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: I SAY THESE THINGS TO YOU BECAUSE, QUITE FRANKLY, WHEN I GO BACK HOME I HAVE THE SAME PROBLEM YOU DO.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: -- I GO BACK HOME AND I SAY "WE NEED TO SHOW OUR GOOD FAITH AGAIN."

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))



NORTH: WHEN I GO BACK AND I SAY, "WELL, ALL WE NEED TO DO IS TO PROVE OUR GOOD FAITH AND IRAN WILL TAKE WHAT WE KNOW TO BE A VERY, VERY DIFFICULT STEP IN THE LEBANON--WE UNDERSTAND THAT. THAT IT IS NOT IRAN WHO HOLDS THE AMERICANS."

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND THE WAY I PUT IT TO THE PRESIDENT AND TO HIS CLOSEST ADVISORS IS THAT WE ARE HOPING THAT IRAN WILL USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH THOSE IN THE LEBANON TO CAUSE THE RELEASE OF THE AMERICANS AND THE OTHER HOSTAGES.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: I HAVE EXPLAINED THAT THAT IS INDEED A VERY DIFFICULT STEP FOR IRAN TO TAKE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WE RECOGNIZE THAT THOSE WHO HOLD THE HOSTAGES MOST WANT THEIR BRETHREN WHO ARE HELD IN KUWAIT AS CONVICTED TERRORISTS FREED.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: VERY, VERY PRIVATELY WITH THE KUWAITIS. LAST FRIDAY, WE HELPED TO TRY AND SET THE STAGE FOR THAT KIND OF THING TO HAPPEN IN A DIRECT DIALOGUE BETWEEN IRAN AND KUWAIT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WE HAVE ASSURED THE KUWAITIS--A VERY, VERY EXPERIENCED FOREIGN MINISTER--THAT THE DAWA PRISONERS ARE THEIR BUSINESS. BUT YOU SHOULD KNOW, VERY, VERY PRIVATELY, THAT WHAT THAT MEANS IS THAT IF THE KUWAITIS DECIDE TO RELEASE THEM OVER SOME LENGTH OF TIME OR FOR SOME RELIGIOUS REASON, THAT WE ARE NOT GOING TO CRITICIZE THEM AND WE ARE NOT GOING TO ASK THAT THEY BE EXTRADITED TO THE UNITED STATES.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SALE: ((IN PERSIAN)) AND THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT DECISION THAT OUR COUNTRY HAS TAKEN BASED ON OUR TALKS.

NORTH: NOW, YOU AND I BOTH KNOW THAT THERE ARE RELIGIOUS OCCASIONS THAT CAN BE USED TO RELEASE PRISONERS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: YOU AND I BOTH KNOW WHAT THE KUWAITIS REALLY WANT IN ORDER TO RELEASE THOSE PRISONERS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND IT'S VERY SIMPLE--THE KUWAITIS ARE LOOKING FOR ASSURANCE FROM SOMEBODY RESPONSIBLE, SOMEBODY CREDIBLE, THAT IF THEY RELEASE THESE PRISONERS OVER A PERIOD OF TIME THAT THERE WON'T BE ANY MORE ATTACKS ON THE EMIR BY THE DAWA.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

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[REDACTED]

NORTH: I UNDERSTAND THAT THOSE IN THE LEBANON WHO HOLD OUR AMERICANS AND MANY OF THE OTHER WESTERNERS, ARE LOOKING FOR THAT RELEASE AND HAVE ASKED YOU TO ASSURE IT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND THAT PUTS YOU IN A DIFFICULT POSITION.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WHAT I AM SAYING TO YOU IS THAT OUR INTERESTS ARE SO BIG, SO GREAT, AND YET THE REALITY WITHIN OUR SYSTEM IS SUCH THAT WE CANNOT ACT IN A WAY THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULDN'T UNDERSTAND.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WHAT WE HAVE DONE IS TRY TO ACT IN A RESPONSIBLE WAY BUT VERY, VERY, DISCREETLY.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WE HAVE TRIED TO REASSURE YOU THAT OUR INTERESTS GO BEYOND THE HOSTAGES, THAT OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO ASSURE THE POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF IRAN.

((END OF SIDE A))
((PORTION OF CONVERSATION MISSED IN FLIPPING TAPE))

NORTH: TO DEMONSTRATE OUR SINCERITY IN A NUMBER OF WAYS TO YOUR GOVERNMENT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND TO TAKE THOSE STEPS VERY, VERY, VERY DISCREETLY WITH KUWAIT AND OTHERS THAT GIVES YOU BETTER FREEDOM OF ACTION REGARDING KUWAIT, FOR EXAMPLE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WE ARE PREPARED TO DO MORE. WE ARE PREPARED RIGHT NOW TO LAY OUT BEFORE YOU VERY, VERY SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE: WHAT WE KNOW OF THE IRAQI MILITARY POSITIONS AS THEY WERE ASKED FOR IN WASHINGTON.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: TO OBTAIN THE MAPS THAT YOU ASKED FOR IN SUCH A WAY THAT HE WILL NOT BE KNOWN TO HAVE GIVEN THEM TO YOU.

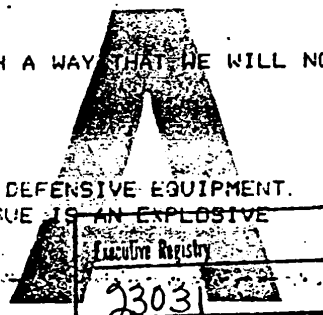
HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND TO PROVIDE VERY, VERY QUICKLY ADDITIONAL DEFENSIVE EQUIPMENT. I'M NOT GOING TO LIE TO YOU. THE HOSTAGE ISSUE IS AN EXPLOSIVE OBSTACLE, LIKE A MINE IN THE ROAD.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: IF ALL OF WHAT WE ARE DOING AND PLAN TO DO BECOMES KNOWN BECAUSE OF THE P33 OR SOME OTHER INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE HAVE THAT ISSUE BEHIND US.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))



CAVE: I HAVE A POINT TO MAKE ABOUT THIS LIST THAT I DON'T KNOW IF THE GENERAL MADE THAT IS VERY IMPORTANT FROM MY RESPONSE FOR GETTING THIS STUFF. THAT I THINK THAT HE SHOULD BE AWARE OF THAT THE MATERIAL THAT WE HAVE SHIPPED, THE TOW MISSILES, ARE EXPENDABLES; AND THEY ARE EXPENDABLES IN THE NATURE OF WHICH THERE IS REGULAR MANUFACTURING LOTS PRODUCED BECAUSE THEY ARE IN SUCH WIDE USE, SO THAT IT IS VERY EASY FOR US TO OBTAIN THEM. I CAN GO DOWN THIS LIST AND POINT OUT TO HIM THAT THE PROBLEM WE HAVE WITH THE HOWITZERS IS THE TIME LAG THAT IT IS GOING TO TAKE, BECAUSE TO GET 500 BARRELS IF WE DO IT ALL FROM AMERICAN SOURCE, 100 TOWED HOWITZERS PLUS 500 BARRELS, THEY'RE GOING TO HAVE TO OPEN UP A PRODUCTION LINE.

SECORD: YOU WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY, AND WE SAID THIS IN WASHINGTON, LOOK AT THE WORLD-WIDE FRIENDLY ((?INTERESTS?)) AND VERY SELECTIVELY GO AND BUY THEM.

NORTH: ...GO TELL SOME ALLIED, SOME COUNTRY, THAT WE WILL LOOK THE OTHER WAY...

CAVE: BUT EVEN IN A SINGLE COUNTRY THEY WOULD HAVE TO OPEN A PRODUCTION LINE.

SECORD: WE MIGHT GO TO THIS COUNTRY, THAT COUNTRY, AND EITHER PROCURE THEM FOR THEM OR LOOK THE OTHER WAY AND LET THEM PROVIDE AT LEAST A PORTION OF THEM.

AVE: ((SPEAKING NOW TO THE IRANIANS)) THE TOW MISSILES WERE VERY EASY FOR US BECAUSE THEY ARE EXPENDABLES OF WHICH WE MANUFACTURE A LOT. ((EXPLAINS THE ABOVE CONVERSATION.))

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS ALL THE ABOVE.))

ORTH: LOOK, ALL OF THIS IS TO SAY THAT ALL OF THIS AND MORE CAN BE DONE, BUT WE NEED TO FIRE PROOF OUR PRESIDENT BY REMOVING THE OBSTACLE.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

ORTH: IF THAT WERE DONE, AND I THINK THAT WE HAVE BOTH ACTED TO SET THE STAGE FOR THAT TO HAPPEN--IF THE HOSTAGE THING WERE BEHIND US, AND I THINK WE HAVE ACTED TOGETHER RESPONSIBLY TO SET THE STAGE FOR THAT TO HAPPEN.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

ORTH: WE CAN GO TO A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES WHO HAVE THESE THINGS. YOU SEE WE HAVE STOPPED THEM IN THE PAST FROM SHIPPING THEM TO YOU WHEN WE FOUND OUT THAT THEY WERE PREPARING, BECAUSE OF ARMS DEALERS LIKE GHERBANIFAR, WE STOPPED THEM.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

ORTH: WE CAN STOP STOPPING THEM. LET ME GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE. MR. GHERBANIFAR AND MR. KANAKFLU HAVE BEEN BUYING WEAPONS FROM OTHER PEOPLE BESIDES US. THERE ARE CERTAIN WEAPONS AND CERTAIN PARTS THAT THEY CAN ONLY GET FROM US.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

ORTH: THERE ARE CERTAIN OTHER WEAPONS AND PARTS WHICH ARE AVAILABLE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES THAT THEY CAN ONLY GET IF WE ALLOW IT TO HAPPEN.

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HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: FOR EXAMPLE.

HAKIM: AND YOU ARE PREPARED TO DO SO? THAT'S WHAT YOU'RE TELLING US?

NORTH: WELL, IF CERTAIN THINGS HAPPEN FAVORABLY IN OUR DIRECTION, THEY WE ARE PREPARED.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) WHEN YOU SAY "CERTAIN THINGS TO HAPPEN IN OUR FAVOR" ARE YOU REFERRING TO THE HOSTAGES?

NORTH: YES. AND I'M NOT JUST TALKING ABOUT OUR HOSTAGES. I'M TALKING ABOUT THE WESTERN HOSTAGES.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) ((THEN, TO NORTH)) ??THAT COMPLICATES IT??

NORTH: I KNOW. I UNDERSTAND THAT. THIS IS A COMPLICATED ISSUE. THIS THING RIGHT HERE. LET ME GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE. THIS PARTICULAR ITEM RIGHT HERE IS MADE IN ITALY AT THE RATE OF ABOUT 1000 ROUNDS A MONTH.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: BUT THERE ARE TWO ITALIANS WHO ARE MISSING IN BEIRUT. THEY ARE MISSING; THEY MAY BE DEAD FOR ALL I KNOW.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII: SINCE WHEN?

NORTH: I DON'T HAVE THAT WITH ME. I CAN FIND OUT.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE SAYS THAT HE IS HEARING IT FROM YOU FOR THE FIRST TIME; IT IS VERY POSSIBLE THAT YOU ARE KEEPING THEM AS HOSTAGES. ((LAUGHTER))

HAKIM: DOES ANYONE KNOW WHERE ALI IS?

NORTH: NO. OUT FOR A WALK? WHERE DID HE GO? IS HE LYING DOWN?

HAKIM: ((ASKS SAMII WHERE ALI IS)) HE KNOWS WHERE HE IS.

AVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) WHAT'S HER NAME? ((LAUGHTER))

NORTH: WHAT IS IMPORTANT, AND IT IS RECORDARILY DIFFICULT DUE TO THE WAY ALL OF THIS GOT STARTED, IS THAT WE ACT IN A RESPONSIBLE MANNER BECAUSE TIME REALLY IS NOT ON OUR SIDE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

MII

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) HE BELIEVES IN WHAT YOU SAY THAT HE OUGHT TO ACT IN A RESPONSIBLE WAY AND HE CHOOSES, BECAUSE HE BELIEVES IN THAT, TO GO

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AND LIST THE GOOD THINGS THAT THEY HAVE DONE FOR US.

ORTH: LET ME MAKE JUST ONE LAST POINT, AND THEN IT'S YOUR TURN.
IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THAT OUR APPROACH IS NOT THAT OF THE FRANCE WHO HAVE DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES, AND BECAUSE FRANCE IS MUCH SMALLER, AND HAS A SMALL ROLE IN THE WORLD, THEIR GOALS ARE MORE LIMITED.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

((ALI ARRIVES))

ORTH: RONALD REAGAN IS GOING TO BE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. FOR TWO MORE YEARS AND WILL NEVER AGAIN SERVE AS PRESIDENT.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

AMII: THERE IS MCFARLANE.

ORTH: HE WANTS TO BE PRESIDENT?

AMII:

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) THEY ARE VERY ACTIVE IN TRYING TO MAKE MCFARLANE PRESIDENT. ((LAUGHTER))

ORTH: THAT'S NOT BEYOND REASON. IT COULD HAPPEN. ((CONTINUES WITH PREVIOUS THOUGHT)) THIS PRESIDENT WOULD LIKE TO HAVE--I CAN TELL YOU BECAUSE I'VE LISTENED TO HIM--HIS VISION IS THAT WHEN HE LEAVES OFFICE IN 1989 WE WILL HAVE FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN YOUR COUNTRY AND OURS.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

ORTH: HE WOULD LIKE TO BE REMEMBERED AS A MAN WHO HELPED TO BRING PEACE, IF YOU WILL, TO THE CHRISTIAN AND MOSLEM AND JEWISH PEOPLE IN THIS WORLD.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

ORTH: THAT'S WHY HE SELECTED THE VERSE HE DID FROM OUR HOLY BOOK.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

ORTH: IT ISN'T SOME SHORT-TERM THING JUST TO GET REELECTED OR TO SOLVE SOME IMMEDIATE PROBLEM, AND THEN FORGET ABOUT IT. HE REALLY HAS A LONG-TERM VISION.

AKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

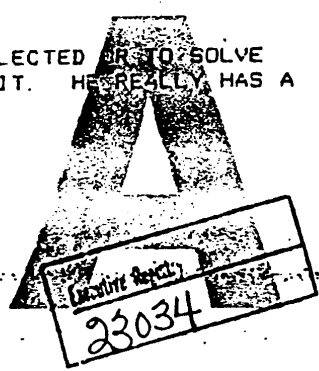
ORTH: HE KNOWS THAT SADDAM HUSAIN IS A ((EXPLETIVE))

AKIM: DO YOU WANT ME TO TRANSLATE THAT?

ORTH: GO AHEAD. THAT'S HIS WORD, NOT MINE.

((MORNING ABOUT THE ABOVE))

ORTH: THE INFORMATION THAT WE ARE ABOUT TO GIVE YOU WE HAVE NEVER GIVEN TO ANYBODY ELSE IN THIS DETAIL WHO IS AT WAR WITH A COUNTRY WITH WHOM



WE HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: IF IT BECAME KNOWN WHAT WE ARE GIVING YOU... WHAT WE ARE GIVING YOU SHOWS SOME SIGNIFICANT VULNERABILITIES ON THEIR PART.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: IF IT EVER BECAME KNOWN WE HAVE DONE THIS, WE WOULD BE FINISHED IN TERMS OF CREDIBILITY AS LONG AS PRESIDENT REAGAN IS PRESIDENT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THIS IS EXACTLY WHAT ALI ASKED FOR WHEN HE WAS IN WASHINGTON.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THE ONLY DIFFERENCE IS THAT WE DON'T HAVE IT ON A 1:50,000 MAP BECAUSE WE DIDN'T HAVE THE RIGHT MAP SHEETS, AND WE ARE GOING TO GET THEM FOR YOU. THEY ARE ON PLATES AND THEY ARE PRINTING THEM.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: OKAY. LAST POINT, AND THEN SAM GIVES THE INTELLIGENCE. WE KNOW THAT WE ARE ((WORD MISSED)) WHO KNOWS WHAT. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE KGB HAS SEVERAL VERY HIGH-LEVEL PENETRATIONS OF YOUR MILITARY AND AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) HE WANTS TO KNOW DO YOU MEAN THE ARMY OR THE GUARD CORPS.

NORTH: WE DON'T KNOW WHERE THE PENETRATIONS ARE.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THE REASON I TELL YOU THAT IS THAT IF THE KGB PERSON OR PERSONS FINDS OUT THAT WE'VE GIVEN THAT MAP TO YOU, WE'RE GOING TO SHUT THIS OFF SO FAST IT WILL MAKE YOUR HEAD SPIN.

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS)) THE REASON WHY HE ASKED ABOUT THE PASDARS AS OPPOSED TO THE MILITARY SINCE THEY PLAN TO USE THIS ONLY WITH THE PASDARS, NOT WITH THEIR MILITARY. THE REASON FOR THIS IS THAT, EVEN AMONG THE MILITARY, THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AND THE G-2 IS CONTROLLED BY THE PASDARS.

NORTH: YOU SEE WE DON'T KNOW THIS

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CAVE:

CAVE: ... (IN PERSIAN) YOU MUST BE VERY CAREFUL NOT TO REVEAL THAT THIS
INFORMATION CAME FROM US.

((TIME OUT FOR A BREAK))

((EXPLANATION OF MAP BEGINS. CAVE POINTING OUT IRAQI UNITS ON
MAP.))

((END OF TAPE 12))

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THE BEGINNING OF TAPE 13, SIDE A))

CAVE CONTINUES POINTING OUT IRAQI UNITS ON THE MAP TO THE
IRANIS. CAVE GIVES SPECIFIC UNIT DESIGNATIONS AND THE LOCATION
OF SUPPLY HEADQUARTERS, MAINTENANCE FACILITIES, AMMUNITION SUPPLY
WAREHOUSES, ETC.))

((AS THE NEGOTIATORS ARE FINISHING THIS ROUND OF TALKS THE FOLLOWING CONVERSATION STARTS:))

((890))

HAKIM: WHEN DID OUR BOYS COME BACK FROM TEHRAN? IN MAY?

NORTH: WHO?... MAY 29.

HAKIM: AND DID WE SHIP ANYTHING AFTER THAT?

NORTH: WE SHIPPED THE HAWK PARTS IN JUNE.

HAKIM: AND ANYTHING AFTER THAT?

NORTH NO. WE SHIPPED THE INITIAL... WHEN WE WENT TO TEHRAN WE BROUGHT WITH
US ONE PALLATE OF HAWK PARTS. THAT IS IT.

HAKIM: (INTERPRETS)

NORTH AND THEN IN JUNE WE SHIPPED...

HAWAII THAT WAS JULY

NORTH. AND THE NEXT THING THAT HAPPENED AFTER THAT WAS, FATHER JENCO WAS RELEASED

H49 IN: AFTER THE JULY SHIPMENT?

NORTH WELL FATHER JULIO WAS RELEASED FIRST.

554111 AFTER THE SAMPLE YOU TOOK A SAMPLE

NORTH. RIGHT WE WENT WITH A SAMPLE, THEN JENDO. THEN WE SHIPPED A PLANE LOAD OF RAW FIBRE. ALL THAT WE HAD AVAILABLE.

--44 III AND THEN ANYTHING ELSE AFTER THAT?

LETH NO TALK LOTS OF TALK

-441- THE LIFE OF JOHN F. KENNEDY: A MEMOIR BY JAMES H. MOHR, JR.

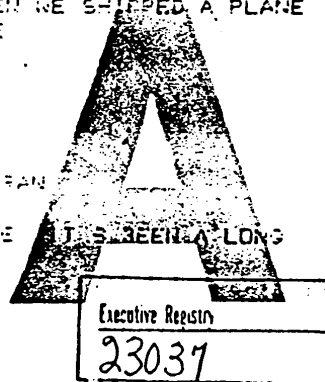
NORTH NO WE HAVEN'T CHANGED ANY THING IN A LONG TIME IT'S BEEN A LONG TIME SINCE WE CHANGED THE WAY

NAME: _____
 T-8 TOTAL: _____

NOTE: 1999 FORMULA: 1998 100% OF 1994 OF 1984 OF 1974

14-00000

DOI: 10.1002/for



LET ME PROPOSE SO THAT THESE PEOPLE CAN EAT AND THEY CAN
TALK TO THEIR RESPECTIVE ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) IT'S BEEN DAMN NEAR
12 HOURS. IT'S BEEN 11 HOURS TODAY

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: I HAVE TOMORROW. I MUST GO BACK. SO I HAVE TO LEAVE AT 11:00. WE
HAVE HAD A LONG DAY. AND EVEN A LONG DAY AMONG FRIENDS IS A LONG
DAY.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII:

HAKIM: WAS IT A GOOD DAY OR WAS IT NOT A GOOD DAY?

NORTH: IT WAS A GOOD DAY.

SAMII:

HAKIM: DID YOU LIKE THE MEETING?

NORTH: I HATE ALL MEETINGS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THIS WAS A GOOD MEETING. I THINK THAT WE HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING AS TO
WHAT YOUR PROBLEMS ARE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND IT IS A REALISTIC UNDERSTANDING.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: I HOPE THAT YOU HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT OUR PROBLEMS
ARE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF EACH
OTHER'S PROBLEMS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE A SERIES OF VERY PRACTICAL NEXT STEPS AND
THEN I WILL STOP. WE CAN EITHER BREAK FOR A FEW HOURS OR
WE CAN CONTINUE TO WORK. WE CAN THEN RECONVENE ((FEW WORDS)) SO
THAT WE CAN HAVE THE CHANCE TO TALK ABOUT IT AND SO DO WE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND I WOULD REQUEST YOU TRY TO BE ABLE TO GIVE US AN ANSWER
TODAY OR TOMORROW MORNING. I UNDERSTAND THAT

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

RECORD THE FOLLOWING: I WILL REPORT TO THE CHAIRMAN IS DONE BY THE

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[REDACTED]

AUTHORITIES THAT I HAVE BEEN GIVEN BY OUR PRESIDENT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: IT IS ALSO MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE VERY REAL POSSIBILITY THAT THE KGB ALREADY KNOWS ABOUT THIS AND WILL MAKE IT PUBLIC. MAKE THE CONTACT PUBLIC.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: IT IS MADE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT YOU ARE PREPARING AN OFFENSIVE AGAINST IRAQ.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: IT IS MADE WITH THE RECOGNITION THAT THE IRAQIS ARE PREPARED IN MANY WAYS FOR THAT OFFENSIVE, AS YOU JUST SAW FROM THAT INTELLIGENCE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND THAT IT IS MADE WITH THE RECOGNITION THAT THE IRAQIS ARE RIGHT NOW WORKING WITH A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT AIRCRAFT SUPPLIERS AND TRAINERS TO PREPARE FOR MAJOR ATTACKS AGAINST YOUR FUEL OIL AND YOUR ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: AND LASTLY IT IS MADE WITH THE RECOGNITION THAT WINTER IS COMING.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: I WILL PROPOSE THAT WE ENGAGE... OR THAT WE TAKE TOGETHER THE FOLLOWING SEVEN STEPS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

((IRANIS PREPARE TO WRITE DOWN THE PROPOSAL))

NORTH: ONE YOU PROVIDE THE FUNDS NEEDED FOR THE PURCHASE OF 500 TOWS AND THE REMAINDER OF THE HAWK PARTS NECESSARY TO BRING YOUR HAWK SYSTEM BACK UP AND EFFECTIVE

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: STEP NUMBER TWO WITHIN NINE DAYS OF THE FUNDS BEING MADE AVAILABLE WE WILL PROVIDE THOSE PARTS AND THE 500 TOWS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: STEP NUMBER THREE

HAKIM: WITHIN NINE DAYS OF THE FUNDS BEING MADE AVAILABLE WE WILL PROVIDE THOSE PARTS AND THE 500 TOWS.

NORTH: WHERE EVER THE WILL THEY WANT THEM BY AIRPLANE IT'S TWO AIRPLANE LOADS

HAKIM: INTERPRETS

NORTH: IT WILL TAKE ALL THE EMERGENCY PROCEEDINGS

[REDACTED]

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HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS: GOES OVER THE FIRST TWO POINTS WITH THE IRANIANS.))

NORTH: STEP NUMBER THREE. YOU WOULD USE YOUR INFLUENCE IN LEBANON TO CAUSE THEM TO RELEASE ALL OF THE AMERICAN HOSTAGES.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: STEP NUMBER FOUR. YOU WOULD THEN PROVIDE THE FUNDS FOR 1500 MORE TOWS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

((IN ENGLISH. INAUDIBLE QUESTION DIRECTED AT NORTH.))

NORTH: FIRST I'VE HEARD OF IT. I THINK WE OUGHT TO PUT THAT ON THE LIST OF FUTURE THINGS BECAUSE WE DON'T HAVE IT IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE. LET ME JUST GIVE YOU AN IMPORTANT POINT.

SAMII: ((IN PERSIAN.)) ((FEW WORDS)) ... SINCE WE ASKED FOR 2000 TOWS AND 100 LAUNCHERS.

CAVE: LET HIM EXPLAIN.

NORTH: WE HAVE LONG AGO STOPPED USING THE KIND OF TOW LAUNCHERS THAT YOU HAVE. WE NO LONGER USE IT. WE HAVEN'T USED IT FOR 4.5 YEARS.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: HOWEVER, IT IS POSSIBLE. LIKE IT IS WITH THIS LIST, TO FIND THE OLD LAUNCHERS

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: BUT THAT TAKES TIME.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: WHAT I AM PROPOSING TO YOU IS A VERY QUICK PROCESS ...

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: THAT STARTS THINGS IN MOTION THAT WE ... IT STARTS VERY SLOW AND IT GROWS VERY QUICKLY.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

SAMII: ((IN PERSIAN.)) ((FEW WORDS)) ... SINCE WE ASKED FOR 2000 TOWS AND 100 LAUNCHERS. WHICH WE REQUESTED ON THE QUANTITY. ((INAUDIBLE))

CAVE: HOW MANY DOES HE NEED?

HAKIM: 100

NORTH: I DON'T KNOW. NOW WHEN YOU ASK THEM TO DO IT BUT I THINK WE CAN LOOK. LET US LIST

CAVE: OK. ...

HAKIM: ...

CAVE: ...

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CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) I HAVE A QUESTION. IF FOR EXAMPLE, LET'S SAY WE CAN FIND 25 OR 50 TANKS...

SAMII: ((IN PERSIAN)) NO PROBLEM. NO. ((INAUDIBLE))

CAVE: WHAT I ASKED HIM I SAID, "SUPPOSING WE CAN FIND JUST A FEW OF THEM IMMEDIATELY IS THAT ALRIGHT?"

SAMII:

HAKIM: HE WANTS TO KNOW IF YOU KNOW THE EFFECT OF THE SECOND OR THIRD GENERATION OF TANKS ON THE T-72'S AND IF YOU DON'T... YOU DO?

NORTH: OH YEAH. IT GOES THROUGH THEM LIKE BUTTER.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

CAVE: A HEAD-ON SHOT?

NORTH: YEAH, IF YOU HIT... IF YOU... OH GOD!

SECOND: YEAH, BECAUSE THEY'VE HAD SOME TROUBLES WITH HEAD-ON SHOTS.

NORTH: WHAT THEY DID IS THEY FOUND A PLACE TO SHOOT, A SIDE ANGLE. ((IT SEEMS NORTH IS DRAWING A PICTURE TO ILLUSTRATE WHAT HE IS SAYING.)) THAT'S THE FRONT OF THE T-72. WHAT YOU DO, INSTEAD OF AIMING LOW LIKE HERE, YOU AIM RIGHT HERE. WHAT THE MISSILE DOES IS THE MISSILE GLANCES UP AND IT GOES OFF RIGHT THERE. IT'LL HIT. IT'LL SLIDE UP AND IT BLOWS THE TURRET CLEAN OFF THE TOP OF THE TANK.

SECOND: JUST ABOVE THE BOW.

NORTH: YEAH, JUST AIM RIGHT ABOVE THIS POINT AT A HEAD-ON SHOT. AIM RIGHT ABOVE... BECAUSE THE T-72 HAS A POINTED NOSE AND IF YOU AIM RIGHT ABOVE IT THE MISSILE WILL HIT AND SLIDE RIGHT UP INTO THAT GROOVE BETWEEN THE TURRET AND THE HULL AND IT BLOWS THE TURRET RIGHT OFF THE TANK. IT KILLS EVERYBODY INSIDE IT.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: EVEN THE CASE, WHEN FIRED IN THE SAME... IT DOESN'T HAVE THIS MUCH RANGE. FIRED THE SAME WAY. IT WON'T BLOW THE TURRET OFF, BUT THE TANK WILL NEVER SHOOT ANOTHER ROUND.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: IT SEEMS... ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH: STEP NUMBER ONE - STEP NUMBER FOUR WAS PROVIDE THE FUNDS FOR THE... THE FUNDS BEING... WITHIN NINE DAYS OF... TACTICAL SUPPORT TO MAKE SURE THAT THE HAWK SYSTEM IS UP AND WORKING. UPDATED INTELLIGENCE LIKE YOU'VE JUST GOTTEN OF IRAQ AND A COMMUNICATIONS TEAM IN TEHRAN TO HELP MAKE SURE WE'RE NOT... SECURITY

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS)) STEP NUMBER FIVE - GIVE CLARIFIED TECHNICAL SUPPORT FOR THE... ((INTERPRETS)) THAT TECHNICIANS WILL BE SENT TO SEE

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THAT IT OPERATES PROPERLY. HE ALSO ADDS THAT THE COMMUNICATIONS TEAM WILL HAVE TWO MEMBERS. 7)

NORTH STEP NUMBER SIX. RETURN OF BUCKLEY'S BODY. WE KNOW HE IS DEAD; A COPY OF THE DEBRIEF, THE MIZBALLAH, THE 400 PAGES OF DEBRIEF INFORMATION; AND THE RELEASE OF JON PATTIS, WHO WAS ACCUSED OF BEING A SPY BECAUSE HE'S STUPID.

HAJJI: ((INTERPRETS. LEAVES OUT THE FACT THAT THE U.S. KNOWS BUCKLEY IS DEAD. ALSO HE DOESN'T MENTION HIZBALLAH. HE SAYS, " THE INFORMATION CAINED FROM BUCKLEY. "))

NORTH: NOW WE DIDN'T TALK ABOUT PATTIS HERE TODAY BUT I RAISED PATTIS WHEN ALI WAS IN WASHINGTON AT THE WHITE HOUSE. PATTIS WAS NEVER A SPY. PATTIS WAS DEBRIEFED BY OUR FBI WHEN HE WOULD RETURN, THAT IS TO THE UNITED STATES FROM IRAN.

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETS))

NORTH. THAT IS A NORMAL ((ONE WORD.))

HAKIM: ((CONTINUES INTERPRETATION REGARDING PATTIS.)).

EXHIBIT:

HAKIM: ((FEW WORDS)) KNOWS HIS SOURCE?

NORTH: NO! I MEAN HERE'S THE WAY ((INAUDIBLE))

QAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) WHEN AN AMERICAN GOES TO IRAN, WHILE HE IS RETURNING ((FEW WORDS)) THEY SEE HE WAS IN IRAN, THE FBI ALWAYS ASKS WHY HE WENT TO IRAN.

NORTH: WE DO THIS WHEN PEOPLE RETURN FROM RUSSIA, WHEN PEOPLE RETURN FROM EAST GERMANY. IN PLACES WHERE WE HAVE DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION, WHEN A U.S. TRAVELLER IS GOING THERE AND WHEN HE COMES BACK INTO THE U.S. WE FOLLOW HIM UP AND SAY,

SECOND WE DO IT A HUNDRED TIMES A DAY.

FOURTH ALL OVER THE UNITED STATES - WHEN WE HAVE TRAVELLERS COME BACK IN THAT WERE DEPORTED IN OTHER WORDS THEY HAVE A VISA STAMPED FROM EAST GERMANY. OUR INSPECTORS WILL SAY "HEY, YOU JUST CAME FROM EAST GERMANY?" "YES" "HOW WAS IT?" "IT WAS COLD THERE." "WOULD YOU MIND TALKING TO ME ABOUT IT?" THERE IS A GUY DOWN THE HALL WHO HAS AN OFFICE WHERE HE SITS AND HE IS AN "EXPERT" ON YOU. "SOME PEOPLE SAY... SOME PEOPLE SAY... WHEN YOU GO TO THE..."

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NOTES ON THE COLLECTION OF THE

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FOURTH: THAT THE SOURCE OF A MESSAGE TO A FRIENDSHIP, NEVER GAVE ANY INFORMATION AS TO WHERE THE SOURCE WAS STRUCK OR THE KINDS OF INFORMATION THAT HE GAVE. IN OTHER WORDS, HE GAVE NO REVEAL ANY INFORMATION THAT WOULD BE OF USE TO THE FBI.

[illegible]

SAMIT [REDACTED]

HAKIM: I HEARD THIS FROM SOMEONE WHO WAS IN VERY...

NORTH: ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR.)) I MEAN, AS FAR AS I CAN FIGURE, THE PEOPLE HE WAS WORKING FOR CAN'T QUITE FIGURE OUT WHY HE WAS ARRESTED.

HAKIM?: HIS COWORKER. HE USED TO WORK FOR ME. HE KNOWS HIM VERY WELL.

NORTH: AND HE WAS AN EFFECTIVE EMPLOYEE. I THINK IT WAS STUPID OF HIM.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) THE FBI DIDN'T EVEN DISSEMINATE HIS REPORT. WHEN THEY TALKED WITH HIM, THEY DIDN'T GET ANYTHING WORTHWHILE. THEY DIDN'T PUBLISH IT. WHEN YOU ARRESTED HIM....

NORTH: STEP NUMBER SEVEN. THE U.S. WILL THEN GO OUT AND FIND WHERE THOSE PARTS OR ITEMS ARE AND START WORKING THROUGH WHATEVER MECHANISM YOU WANT TO MAKE SURE THAT YOU CAN BUY THESE THINGS. BECAUSE RIGHT NOW THERE IS A BLOCK ON THESE THINGS.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

NORTH: LET ME JUST EXPLAIN THAT A LITTLE BIT. WHAT WE WOULD DO IS WE WOULD FIND OUT FOR EXAMPLE ON THESE ITEMS A MANUFACTURER WHO WE THINK WOULD BE DISCREET AND NOT SCREW HIM ON THE PRICE. AND, HOWEVER YOU WANT TO WORK IT, GHORBANIFAR OR KANGARLU OR WHAT'S HIS NAME... YOU TELL US WHO YOU WANT YOUR AGENT TO BE. WE WILL GO AND FIND A PERSON IN THE COMPANY THAT MAKES THESE THINGS AND SAY, WE'RE GOING TO TURN A BLIND EYE. DON'T SCREW THEM ON THE PRICE. DON'T TALK ABOUT IT.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

NORTH: I WILL TELL YOU RIGHT NOW THAT IN THE CASE OF THINGS THAT HAVE A VERY DEFINITE SIGNATURE, IF YOU WILL, LIKE RADARS, WE'RE GOING TO MAKE SURE THAT IT'S NOT AMERICAN. IT WILL BE EUROPEAN OR ASIAN. SINGAPORE OR KOREA...

HAKIM INTERPRETS

NORTH: YOU SEE, WE WOULD NOT WANT THAT TO BE AMERICAN, BECAUSE THE RUSSIAN SATellites WOULD PICK UP IMMEDIATELY THAT IT'S AN AMERICAN RADAR SIGNAL.

HAKIM INTERPRETS,

NORTH: AUGUSTA CELL IN ITALY MAKES ALL THE SHAPE PARTS THAT YOU WOULD EVER WANT.

SECOND: AT LEAST ONE OF THESE THINGS CAME FROM AUGUSTA.

NORTH: IT'S THE SAME STUFF. MADE UNDER U.S. LICENSE IN ITALY.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

NORTH: BYE, SAYING THAT IF YOU WANT TO GO OUT AND FIND PLACES TO BUY THESE THINGS AND TELL YOU WHERE TO GO YOU WILL

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SIMULTANEOUSLY BEGIN TO WORK ON THE RELEASE OF THE OTHER
HOSTAGES

HAKIM INTERPRETS, ADDING THE WORD "WESTERNERS"

NORTH: WE WILL GO AT THAT POINT AND GET, ONE WAY OR THE OTHER, THE
RELEASE OF THE 347 SHIITES WHO ARE HELD BY LAHAD IN SOUTH
LEBANON.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

SAMII:

CAVE INTERPRETS: HE SAID THERE IS ALSO A LARGE NUMBER IN THE HANDS OF
THE PHALANGE.

SAMII: WE KNOW THAT YOU CAN NOT INFLUENCE THE PHALANGE.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

NORTH: I'M NOT SO DAMN SURE ABOUT THAT.

CAVE: WE CAN TRY.

SECORD: WE CAN INFLUENCE THEM.

SAMII:

HAKIM INTERPRETS: YOU WOULD HAVE TO BY PASS THE FRENCH TO DO THAT.

NORTH: I UNDERSTAND THAT. THESE ARE DIFFICULT THINGS FOR ALL OF US.

SECORD: THE POINT IS, WE TALK TO THE PHALANGE. WE KNOW THE PHALANGE.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

NORTH: AND AFTER THAT, STEP NUMBER SEVEN, WE REALLY OUGHT TO SEE IF
THERE ISN'T SOME WAY THAT A VERY, VERY, HIGH LEVEL VISITOR FROM
YOUR COUNTRY CAN'T COME TO OUR COUNTRY TO MEET WITH SECRETARY
SHULTZ OR PRESIDENT REAGAN OR ... IN OTHER WORDS, LET'S GET THIS
ON A VERY FULL FOOTING, SO THAT YOU AND I DON'T HAVE TO STAY UP
ALL NIGHT TRYING TO MAKE THIS THING WORK IN BOTH OF OUR
CAPITALS.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

SECORD: THAT WOULD BE THE WAY.

NORTH: ... THAT WOULD BE SECRET ... ON SOME ISLAND SOMEWHERE.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

SAMII:

HAKIM INTERPRETS: HE WANTS TO KNOW IF THIS IS FINAL OR IF YOU WILL
COMBINE IT WITH SOME OTHER LIST WITH SEVEN ITEMS OF
THEIR CHOICE.

NORTH: ... WE WILL MEET AND TALK WITH
THEY WILL MEET AND TALK WITH
ON AN INDEPENDENT LIST AS

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YOU WANT.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

SAMII: MY ONLY QUESTION IS ... TELL HIM THAT WHAT I MEAN IS THAT YOU CAME WITH FULL AUTHORITY TO PRESENT SEVEN POINTS. PRESIDENT REAGAN AUTHORIZED YOU FOR THESE TWO AGREEMENTS. FULL AUTHORITY. I TOO HAVE FULL AUTHORITY ON A SERIES OF POINTS. BUT MY AUTHORIZATION AND YOUR AUTHORIZATION DO NOT COINCIDE. THEREFORE IT IS POSSIBLE THAT TOMORROW MORNING I MIGHT, FOR EXAMPLE, PRESENT A SEVEN OR TEN ITEM PROPOSAL. AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT IN THAT PROPOSAL THERE MAY BE POINTS WHICH CONFLICT WITH THOSE YOU PRESENTED. DO YOU HAVE FULL AUTHORIZATION AT THAT TIME TO ACCEPT THAT LIST ((FEW WORDS UNCLEAR.))

HAKIM INTERPRETS

NORTH: IT MAY BE NECESSARY THAT I GO BACK AND REVIEW THAT WITH MY PRESIDENT AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR. THE LIST I GAVE TO YOU, WE COULD AGREE ON TONIGHT OR TOMORROW MORNING, AND THINGS WOULD BEGIN TO HAPPEN. THE ONLY THING THAT CHANGES WILL DO IS DELAY THINGS BECAUSE I WILL HAVE TO GO BACK TO THE U.S. I HAVE TO GO BACK TOMORROW ... I MUST, BECAUSE MY PRESIDENT IS GOING OFF TO ICELAND. AND MUCH OF THIS IS BEING DONE IN THE CONTEXT OF WHAT IS ABOUT TO HAPPEN BETWEEN US AND THE SOVIETS IN ICELAND. HE WANTS TO KNOW WHETHER OR NOT WE ARE HEADED QUICKLY IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT. BECAUSE HE KNOWS ... WE KNOW THAT THE SOVIETS ARE GOING TO MAKE SOME PROPOSALS THAT WE DO NOT LIKE REGARDING AFGHANISTAN.

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

SAMII: ((INAUDIBLE))

HAKIM INTERPRETS. HE DOESN'T THINK THAT IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR BOTH GROUPS TO GO BACK AND CONSULT THEIR GOVERNMENTS. AND HE ALSO BELIEVES THAT WITHIN ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BOTH GROUPS WE MAY COME UPON ISSUES THAT WE CAN AGREE ON BUT REGARDING AFGHANISTAN, ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

SAMII:

HAKIM INTERPRETS. REGARDING AFGHANISTAN, HE WANTS TO POINT OUT THAT, REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE SUPERPOWERS MAY AGREE UPON, PAKISTAN, OR THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT, OR ANYTHING THAT IS NOT IN LINE WITH THE POLICY AND THE WISHES OF THE ((MOJAHEDIN)) THEY WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

SAMII: THE OCCUPYING FORCES MUST LEAVE AFGHANISTAN UNCONDITIONALLY.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

SAMII: THE GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN MUST BE DETERMINED THROUGH THE VOTE OF THE PEOPLE AND THE REFUGEES SHOULD RETURN. WE ARE NOT GOING TO SAY WHAT TYPE OF GOVERNMENT THEY SHOULD HAVE. IF THE PEOPLE DECIDE THAT THEY WANT A COMMUNIST COUNTRY, SO BE IT. THEY MAY ALSO DECIDE THAT THEY WANT A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, BUT WE CAN NOT AGREE TO TALKS IN WHICH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MOJAHEDIN DO NOT PARTICIPATE.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

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[REDACTED]
SAMI: THEREFORE, I CAN TELL YOU THAT YOU CAN GO AHEAD AND MAKE YOUR AGREEMENTS. BUT BE ASSURED THAT THE STRUGGLE WILL CONTINUE THROUGH IRAN. AND OUR DOORS REMAIN OPEN TO THOSE PEOPLE WHO WANT TO ASSIST THE MUJAHEDIN THROUGH IRAN, PROVIDED THAT IT IS UNCONDITIONAL.

NORTH: WE SHARE THE SAME OBJECTIVES THAT YOU DO FOR AN OUTCOME IN AFGHANISTAN. THEY ARE IDENTICAL. BUT WE ALSO SAY, AS WAS REPORTED IN TODAY'S NEWS, THAT THE SITUATION IS VERY BAD FOR THE MUJAHEDIN.

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

((PORTION OF CONVERSATION INAUDIBLE BECAUSE OF BACKGROUND NOISE.))

((MORE TALK ON AFGHANISTAN.))

NORTH: IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOU TAKE HOME A SENSE THAT WHAT WE SEE THE RUSSIANS DOING IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY ACTIVE IN THE PERSIAN GULF, IN AFGHANISTAN, IN PAKISTAN, INTIMIDATING IRAN, BECOMING MORE ACTIVE IN A WAY. WITHOUT A POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAN, WE ARE IN LIABILITY. AND WHAT I HAVE PROPOSED IS A WAY OF GETTING ON QUICKLY WITH ASSURANCES THAT WE CAN HAVE A POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP.

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

NORTH: THERE IS NO ONE ELSE BRAVE ENOUGH IN THE PERSIAN GULF TO STEP UP TO WHAT THE RUSSIANS ARE DOING EXCEPT IRAN. NO OTHER NATION THAT LIVES THERE.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

NORTH: THE IRAQIS ARE THE SOVIET Pawns. THE PAKISTANIS ARE INCREASINGLY AFRAID. THE INDIANS DO WHATEVER THE SOVIETS WANT. THE KUWAITIS ARE AFRAID TO DEATH TO DO ANYTHING AT ALL. THE SAUDIS, LOOKING AT ALL OF THAT FROM ACROSS THE GULF, LOOK AROUND AND SAY, "WE JUST HOPE THAT THERE IS ENOUGH AMERICAN PRESENCE HERE TO PROTECT US."

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

NORTH: THE SOVIETS ARE ACTIVELY PLANNING JUST EXACTLY WHAT HE DESCRIBED THIS MORNING. A PUPPET GOVERNMENT IN AFGHANISTAN.

HAKIM INTERPRETS

NORTH: THEY REFER TO ALL OF THAT AS A CORRELATION OF FORCES MOVING IN THEIR DIRECTION

HAKIM INTERPRETS

NORTH: THE RECOVERY OF A STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U.S. AND IRAN IS NOT ONLY IN THEIR - IRAN'S BEST INTERESTS BUT IN OURS TOO AND THAT RELATIONSHIP IS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES THAT

HAKIM INTERPRETS

NORTH: AND THAT RELATIONSHIP IS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES THAT I OUTLINED WHEN ALL WAS IN WASHINGTON. WHAT I WAS PRESENTING RIGHT THERE WAS A PLAN BY WHICH THE PRESIDENT WOULD KNOW THAT WE ARE HEADED IN THAT DIRECTION FROM THE MOMENT HE WALKS IN AND TALKS TO CORBACHEN

HAKIM INTERPRETS

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OUTLINED

[REDACTED]

NORTH: AND THE PLAN THAT I PRESENTED, THOSE SEVEN STEPS, WOULD MOVE FAIRLY QUICKLY IN THAT DIRECTION. IT IS DESIGNED ONCE AGAIN TO PROVIDE THE ASSURANCE BY US MOVING FIRST.

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

NORTH: WE COULD DO THIS KIND OF THING WITH GHORBANIFAR AND SAVE THE PROBLEMS OF PAYING FOR IT DIRECTLY, BUT IT BECOMES INSTANTLY MORE EXPENSIVE, MUCH MORE CONFUSING, AND ALWAYS THE SUBJECT OF POSSIBLE EXPOSURE --AND THE PRICE LIST THAT WE WORKED UP IS EMINENTLY FAIR. IT IS AN HONEST ACTUAL COST-- OR THE WAY IN WHICH WE MUST DO BUSINESS UNTIL WE CAN REOPEN EMBASSIES.

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

NORTH: IT IS THE MOST DISCREET WAY WE KNOW OF GIVING WHAT THEY NEED IN ORDER TO SUSTAIN THEMSELVES, TO DEFEND THEMSELVES.

SECGRD: WHEN WILL WE ADJOURN TO LET THEM THINK ABOUT IT?

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

SAMII:

HAKIM INTERPRETS. BEFORE WE ADJOURN HE WISHES TO GIVE A VERY ((INAUDIBLE))

NORTH: WHO IS THIS FROM?

HAKIM: THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN.

SAMII:

HAKIM INTERPRETS. PRESIDENT REAGAN SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT IRAN IN A VERY EXPANDED MANNER IS FIGHTING COMMUNISM IN THE IRAQI WAR.

SAMII:

HAKIM INTERPRETS. AND FOR THIS MOVE, HE SHOULD TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THAT WHILE THEY ARE FIGHTING WITH THIS SPREAD OUT FRONT WITH IRAQ THERE SHOULD NOT BE A SITUATION WHERE THE IRANIANS HAVE TO FIGHT ANOTHER FRONT FROM THE SIDE OF AFGHANISTAN.

SAMII:

HAKIM INTERPRETS. SINCE THEY CONSIDER IT THEIR DUTY IN THE REGION, THE PERSIAN GULF, TO PROTECT THE REGION IN A VERY PEACEFUL MANNER AGAINST COMMUNISM.

SAMII:

HAKIM INTERPRETS. IF YOU LOOK AT IT VERY CAREFULLY YOU RECOGNIZE THAT THE WAR AGAINST IRAN IS ALSO TO PROTECT THE PERSIAN GULF NATIONS ((INAUDIBLE)) SAMII SAID TO PROTECT KUWAIT, SAUDI ARABIA, AND THE SOUTHERN PERSIAN GULF REGION.))

SAMII: ((INAUDIBLE))

HAKIM INTERPRETS. ((INAUDIBLE))

SAMII:

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[REDACTED]

HAKIM INTERPRETS. HE IS NOT QUITE SURE IF THE UNITED STATES CAN UNDERSTAND AS MUCH THEY UNDERSTAND ((FEW WORDS)) PROTECTING THE REGION AGAINST COMMUNISM

SAMII: BUT THIS IS OUR BELIEF AND WE ARE ACTING ON IT. NOW, IF OTHERS UNDERSTAND THAT AND ACCEPT IT, IT WILL BE BETTER FOR US. IF THEY DO NOT ACCEPT IT, WE WILL ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR BELIEFS ANYHOW.

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

SAMII: ((INAUDIBLE))

HAKIM INTERPRETS. IF THIS HONORABLE VICTORY IN THIS WAR ((INAUDIBLE))

SAMII: AND AS LONG AS YOUNG PEOPLE LIKE ME BELIEVE IN THIS REVOLUTION OF OURS, YOU CAN BE SURE THAT, UNDER NO CONDITION, WILL WE MOVE AN INCH FROM OUR POSITION.

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

((SEVERAL EXCHANGES INAUDIBLE.))

HAKIM INTERPRETS. AND IF THEIR YOUNG PEOPLE SHOULD LEARN THAT THE REVOLUTION HAS LOST ITS MAIN ATTITUDE OF NEITHER WEST NOR EAST, THEY WILL NO LONGER REMAIN WITH THE REVOLUTION.

SAMII:

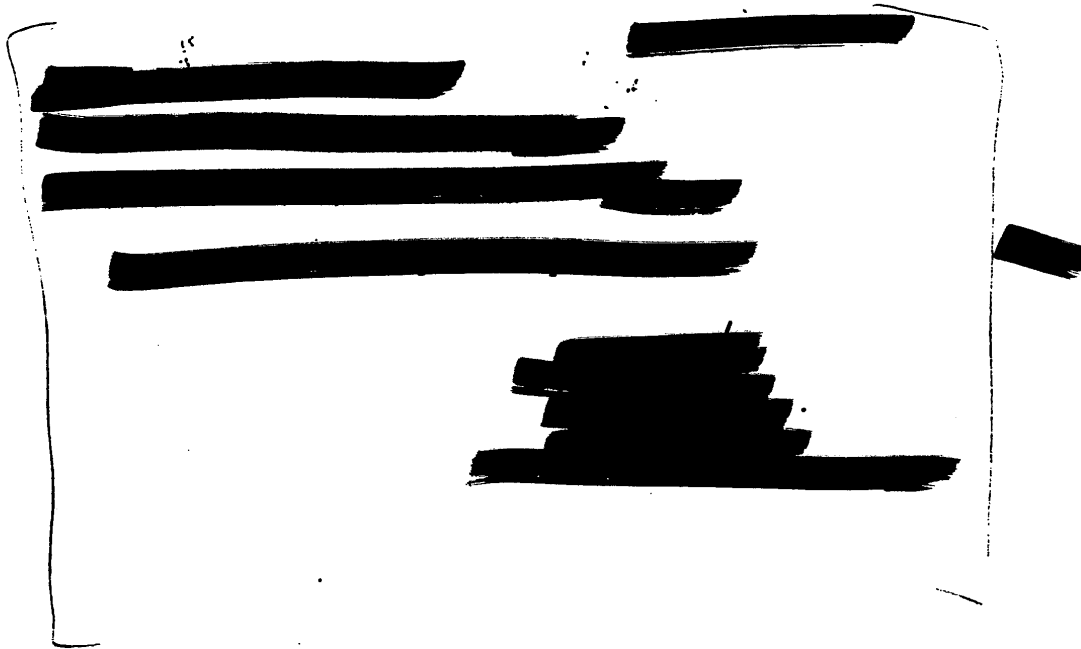
HAKIM INTERPRETS. THE FACT THAT THE MESSAGE THEY HAVE RECEIVED THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS ACCEPTED AND RECOGNIZES THE REVOLUTION AS IT IS TODAY IS A VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE WITH US.

((END OF TAPE 13))

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[REDACTED]



Rec'd
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TAPE 14, SIDE A

SECORD:CHECK FOR 30 MINUTES... 45 MINUTES. HE IS THERE BY NOW.

NORTH: WHERE IS THE STUFF TO XEROX.

SECORD: I GOT IT.

((MEETING IS BREAKING UP AT THIS POINT))

NORTH: THE 1:50,000'S ARE COMING.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) THIS IS THE 1:250,000 WHICH IS BRAND NEW AND...

SECORD: THAT'S THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

NORTH: THE WHOLE BATTLE ZONE.

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) AND LATER THE 1:50,000... SINCE WE DON'T USE THEM VERY OFTEN THEY ORDERED...

NORTH: THE PILOTS NEED THOSE.

CAVE: HOWEVER YOUR PILOTS NEED THEM VERY MUCH.

SAMII: THOSE THINGS THAT WE OUTLINED FOR YOU... LOOK, THE 250 ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) BECAUSE WE KNOW YOU USE THE 250.

CAVE: THAT'S CORRECT.

SECORD: THIS IS THE 250 ((INAUDIBLE))

NORTH: OKAY. WELL THAT'S THE SAME SCALE AS THAT. WOULD YOU MAKE DAMN SURE... I MEAN THAT'S... THESE ARE RESTRICTED. I MEAN THESE NOT THE REGULAR COMMERCIAL ((FEW WORDS MISSED)).

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) THESE ARE NOT ORDINARY. THEY ARE RESTRICTED.

SAMII: THESE ARE AIR MAPS, CORRECT? USED PRIMARILY BY PILOTS?

CAVE: ((IN PERSIAN)) YES. MOSTLY OUR MILITARY USES THEM.

NORTH: THESE ARE NOT FOR COMMERCIAL USE.

((MAPS BEING UNFOLDED.))

NORTH: [REDACTED]

CAVE: [REDACTED] (FEW WORDS MISSED.))

NORTH: [REDACTED] ((INAUDIBLE.))

SAMII: WHAT ARE YOU LOOKING FOR?

SECORD: HERE IT IS. 1981.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

NORTH: NO. SEE. THERE'S A MORE RECENT... THERE IS ONE IN HERE DATED 85.

SECOND: IT DEPENDS ON THE SCHEDULE THAT THEY WERE ((INAUDIBLE)).

NORTH: ...ON WHICH MAP IT IS.

SECOND: YEAH. AND SOME OF THEM THEY DON'T UPDATE VERY OFTEN?. THIS IS JULY 1981 ((UNFOLDING MAP.)) THIS ((INAUDIBLE)) DECEMBER 1981.

NORTH: ((TURNING TO SAMII.)) THE STAMP IS RIGHT HERE. IT IS THE MOST RECENT ONE THAT WE'VE GOT AVAILABLE. THIS IS 1985 AND THEY ARE NOT OPENLY DISTRIBUTED. I MEAN YOU CAN'T BUY THESE ((INAUDIBLE)) SO...

CAVE INTERPRETS.

SECOND: WE NEED 3 THREE MINUTES.

NORTH: WHO?

SECOND: THE WHOLE GROUP.

((IRANIANS CONVERSING WITH ONE ANOTHER BUT THEIR CONVERSATION IS NEAR A WHISPER.))

HASHEMI:

CAVE: ALI WANTS TO THANK YOU ALL FOR YOUR EFFORTS. WE ARE GOING TO CONTINUE TOMORROW.

HASHEMI:

CAVE: AND HE LIKES TO MAKE A PERSONAL OBSERVATION THAT GOD FORBID, IF THERE SHOULD NOT BE A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES. HE CONSIDERS THIS A GREAT OPPORTUNITY FOR HIMSELF THAT HE GOT TO MEET YOU PEOPLE AND YOUR WAY OF THINKING BECAUSE THAT'S WHAT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR HIS THOUGHTS.

HASHEMI:

CAVE: ((INTERPRETS.)) HE WAS PLANNING TO BRING IN WITH HIM EXPENSIVE GIFTS FOR YOU PEOPLE. BUT SINCE MR. HAKIM TOLD HIM THAT OUR GOVERNMENT ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). HE WOULD NOT KEEP ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) AND HE DIDN'T WANT YOU TO LEAVE IT IN STORAGE. THEREFORE HE OBTAINED GIFTS THAT ARE NOT AS EXPENSIVE. BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT EXPENSIVE HE SEEKS YOUR FORGIVENESS.

HASHEMI:

CAVE: THIS KORAN IS IN EXCHANGE FOR THE BIBLE THAT THEY HAVE RECEIVED AND IT HAS A PASSAGE THAT BROTHER SAMII ((INAUDIBLE)) AND HE'S PRAYING FOR THE DAY THAT THE REAL OFFICIALS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL EXCHANGE SUCH GIFTS.

((THANK YOU'S EXCHANGED.))

SAMII:

CAVE: IT'S A GIFT FOR... LET ME EXPLAIN THIS HERE. HE KNOWS THAT HE'S... ((INAUDIBLE)) SUPPORT THIS RELATIONSHIP AND HE LIKES TO EXTEND HIS

[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

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BEST WISHES FOR IT.

((SAMII RECIEVES THANKS FOR HIS GIFTS.))

((U.S. NEGOTIATORS PRESENT GIFTS TO IRANIANS.))

SECORD: NEXT TIME MR. SAMII WHEN WE KNOW YOU ARE COMING, MAYBE I'LL BRING HIM A GOLD TOW LAUNCHER. ((LAUGHTER.))

((MORE CHATTER ABOUT THE GIFTS.))

NORTH: COULD I SUGGEST THAT PERHAPS TOMORROW MORNING, 08:15? AND THEN I MUST GO AT 11:00 TO CATCH THE AIRPLANE. 08:15? AND THEN THE NEXT MEETING WE HAVE AFTER TOMORROW, WE WILL HAVE IT IN WASHINGTON AND YOU (SAMII) COME.

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

NORTH: I WANT YOU TO WALK THE SAME STEPS THAT HE TOOK. IT WAS A LONG WEEKEND. AND I THINK A VERY FRUITFUL ONE, BECAUSE IT GOT US MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION AGAIN. THAT'S IMPORTANT.

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

NORTH: SOME DAY WHEN I AM AN OLD MAN I WILL BE ABLE TO TELL MY GRANDCHILDREN THAT THOSE TWO YOUNG MEN WHO ARE NOW RUNNING THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN, I KNEW THEM WHEN THEY WERE YOUNGER MEN. AND I AM NOW AN OLD MAN.

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

((MEETING BREAKS UP WITH CHITCHAT ON PAST EXPERIENCES. NEGOTIATORS AGREE TO MEET FOLLOWING MORNING.))

((IRANIANS STILL IN ROOM AND ARE WHISPERING. THEY ARE APPARENTLY AWARE THAT THE ROOM IS BUGGED. CONVERSATIONS ARE INAUDIBLE.))

----- END SIDE A, TAPE 14 -----

CONTAINS NOTHING BUT BACKGROUND NOISES. VOICES IN ADJOINING ROOM. RADIO/T.V., ETC. LAST HALF OF TAPE IS BLANK.

----- END TAPE 14 -----

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[REDACTED]

((TAPE 15, SIDE A))

((NO PERSONAL CONVERSATIONS HEARD. ONLY NOISES ARE THAT OF A TELEVISION OR RADIO. APPARENTLY MAID IS IN THE ROOM GOUNG ABOUT HER BUSINESS.))

((IRANIANS ARRIVE IN ROOM AND CARRY ON CONVERSATIONS, MOST OF WHICH ARE INAUDIBLE.))

((BREAK IN TAPE.))

JORTH: I'LL TELL YOU WHAT BOTHERS ME. THE GERMAN SECURITY SERVICE IS ALL OVER HER ((EXPLETIVE)).

AKIM: THIS ONE LOOKS LIKE IT HAS NOT BEEN CLEANED.

((INAUDIBLE.))

JORTH: THE CLEANING SERVICE LEAVES SOMETHING TO BE DESIRED.

AKIM: THE HOTEL SERVICE IS UNGERMANLIKE.

JORTH: WOULD YOU CALL AND ASK IF WE COULD HAVE SOME COFFEE. THERE ARE FOUR NEW ROOMS IN YOUR NAME.

AKIM?: WHERE?

JORTH: ((INAUDIBLE))... THEY'VE GOT TO BE OUT OF HERE BY 11:30.

AKIM: THEY PROBABLY ARE GOING TO GO TO FRANKFURT ((INAUDIBLE)). I WILL SEE.

JORTH: OKAY. THERE ARE FOUR ROOMS IN YOUR NAME. THE SAME ROOMS.

AKIM: DID YOU WATCH THE NEWS YOURSELF?

JORTH: YEAH. I SAW IT THIS MORNING. I WOKE UP TO IT.

AKIM: ((CALLS ROOM SERVICE FOR COFFEE FOR FIVE PEOPLE AND FOUR PEPSI'S.))

((IRANIAN ARRIVES.))

RTH: DID HE EXPLAIN TO YOU ABOUT THE SHIFT?

AKIM: ((BARELY AUDIBLE. MENTIONS NEW LOCATION.))

((SECORD GETS PAID TO CLEAN UP MESS LEFT BEHIND.))

RTH: ((INAUDIBLE)) TO HAVE THE INFORMATION THAT WAS GIVEN US YESTERDAY BACK HERE BY... I SHOULD LEAVE NOT LATER THAN 10:30.

AKIM: ((INAUDIBLE))

AKIM: ((IN PERSIAN. EXPLAINS THAT U.S. SIDE BELIEVES GERMAN INTELLIGENCE

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
IS SUSPICIOUS OF THE MEETING.))

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING.)) IN THE NAME OF GOD. HE IS HAPPY TO SEE THAT THE FEW WORDS MISSED)) AND SOMEWHAT PERSONAL DISCUSSIONS AND HAVE REACHED A POINT THAT HE CONSIDERS IT TO BE A VICTORY IN OUR RELATIONSHIP.

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING.)) HE WANTS TO THANK THIS GROUP THAT ACCEPTED THE BURDEN IN COMING HERE AND ESTABLISHING THIS RELATIONSHIP AND HAVING THE MEETING IN A VERY POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE THAT HELPED US TO UNDERSTAND THE DIFFICULTIES OF EACH OTHER MUCH BETTER.

((AIRPLANES FLYING OVERHEAD ARE RENDERING MOST CONVERSATIONS INAUDIBLE.))

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING.)) HE WANTS TO THANK BOTH PARTIES AND CONGRATULATE THEM FOR KEEPING THEIR CALM, BECAUSE OF THE DIFFICULTIES BOTH PARTIES HAVE EXPERIENCED AND ARE EXPERIENCING IN THEIR COUNTRIES, IN THE UNITED STATES PROBLEMS SUCH AS MR. SHULTZ AND THE MEDIA AND IRAN, PROBLEMS THAT MR. SAMII HAS REFERRED TO IN THESE PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS. HE IS VERY HAPPY TO SEE THAT WE HAVE MAINTAINED OUR COOL AND CALM AND HAVE NOT GIVEN UP.

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING.)) THE LAST THING, THEY'D LIKE TO THANK MR. SECORD AND MR. HAKIM FOR HAVING SUPPORTED THIS CAUSE AND CONTINUE TO SUPPORT AT LEAST ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) IN THIS CONTACT BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING.)) HE IS CONFIDENT THAT WE ARE REALIZING THE CHANGE OF CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION FROM THE PREVIOUS ONE TO THIS ONE... ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) TO YOU THAT IT IS THE RIGHT CHANNEL AND HE ASSURES YOU THAT THIS CHANNEL HAS FULL AUTHORITY ON ALL ISSUES, SUCH AS THE WAR, LEBANON, ETC., TO DISCUSS WITH YOU COMPLETELY.

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING.)) HE WANTS TO MAKE A VERY BRIEF STATEMENT IN CONNECTION WITH YOUR REMARKS OF YESTERDAY FOR THE CONTACT OF THE HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES. SINCE THIS WAS NOT AN ISSUE THAT WAS DISCUSSED IN TEHRAN AND HE HAS NOT RECEIVED ANY AUTHORITIES, HE HOPES THAT YOU DON'T MIND FOR HIM TO ADDRESS THAT IN FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

BAHRAMANI:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING.)) REGARDING THE ITEMS THAT THEY HOLD AND YOU ARE INTERESTED IN AND ((FEW WORDS MISSED)) SUCH AS THE T-72'S. WE HAVE FULL AUTHORITY TO COMMIT THOSE AND

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THOSE ARE UNCONDITIONAL.

((ROOM SERVICE ARRIVES.))

JORTH: IF I INVITE THIS GUY TO COME VISIT US, CAN WE DO THE SAME THING WE DID THE LAST TIME? I WANT YOU TO ASK HIM THAT. I MEAN IF WE DID IT ONCE WE CAN DO IT AGAIN.

((COFFEE BREAK.))

AHRAMANI:

AXIM: HE WANTS TO PICK UP WHERE HE LEFT OFF. HE SAID THAT THOSE ITEMS THAT YOU CAN PICK UP UNCONDITIONALLY.. ((INTERRUPTED BY ROOM SERVICE.))

AHRAMANI:

AXIM: ((INTERPRETING.)) MR. SAMII HAS BEEN MORE INFORMED ON ALL ISSUES. AND YET IRAN ((FEW WORDS)) THE POINTS WHICH THEY HAVE REORGANIZED AS A RESULT OF YESTERDAY'S DISCUSSIONS. THEY ARE GOING TO DISCUSS THESE POINTS WITH YOU AND HE HOPES THAT THERE WILL BE AN AGREEMENT. SHOULD THERE NOT BE AN AGREEMENT, THEN THE WAY TO GO ABOUT THIS IS TO TAKE THE NEW INFORMATION TO THE RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS, DISCUSS THEM, AND THROUGH A MESSENGER TAKE THE NEXT STEPS WHICH SHOULD BE VERY FAST, SPEEDY, BECAUSE TIME IS RUNNING OUT AND WE ALL MUST MOVE FAST.

AHRAMANI:

KIM: ((INTERPRETING.)) ONE VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE THAT HE WANTS TO BRING OUT AND HE HAS BEEN VERY OPEN WITH US. HE HAS NOT KEPT ANYTHING BACK. HE WANTS YOU TO KNOW THAT THE ISSUE OF THE 500 TOWS ARE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, IMPORTANT IN ESTABLISHING THIS CHANNEL. AND TO ACHIEVE THAT HE WANTS MR. HAKIM AND MR. SAMII TO REMAIN BEHIND AND TAKE CARE OF THIS ISSUE AND ALSO TO ((ONE WORD MISSED)) THE GIFT, THE MEDICINE, IN THAT SHIPMENT AND BE READY FOR THE NEXT MOVEMENT.

((INAUDIBLE. EVERYBODY JUMPS IN.))

KIM: JUST A TOKEN, NOT ALL OF THEM, SOMETHING AS A GIFT.

CORD: IF WE PICK UP THE T-72 WE CAN PUT IT ON THE SHIP.

KIM INTERPRETS.

KIM: REMAIN BEHIND AND HANDLE THE TOWS. HE THE FLOOR TO MR. SAMII TO BRING UP THE POINTS THAT ARE THERE ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))

III:

IM: IN THE NAME OF GOD. HE HAS TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF THE MEETING THAT CERTAIN BASIC ISSUES HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED AND THOSE ISSUES WILL BE THE ?SPINE? OF OUR RELATIONSHIP AND WE WILL NOT DISCUSS THEM AGAIN IN FULL ((FEW WORDS MISSED.))

II: ((END SIDE-A TAPE 15))

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((TAPE 15, SIDE B))

MII: ((HIS REMARKS WERE MISSED BECAUSE THE TAPE NEEDED TO BE FLIPPED TO THE OTHER SIDE))

KIM: ((INTERPRETING)) THE WAY THEY HAVE APPROACHED THE PROPOSAL... AND I BEG YOUR PATIENCE AFTER I GET TO THE END OF THIS... THE WAY THEY HAVE APPROACHED IT IN THEIR MIND, THEY CONSIDER THE ISSUE THAT THE ((FEW WORDS MISSING)) ON ALL THE ITEMS AS FOLLOWS: THE TRANSFER OF THE 500 TOWNS AND THE EXCHANGE OF INTELLIGENCE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AS A SEPARATE ISSUE AND AN ISSUE THAT SHOULD NOT ENTER INTO THE NEXT STAGE THAT HAS BEEN PROPOSED. THESE ARE THE ISSUES THAT BOTH PARTIES AGREE TO. ((SYNTAX IS NOT CORRECT, BUT HAKIM'S INTERPRETATION CAN'T BE COMPARED WITH SAMII'S REMARKS BECAUSE OF THE TAPE BEING FLIPPED.))

((NORTH ATTEMPTS TO INTERJECT.))

KIM: I WARNED YOU TO STAY COOL. IT'LL JUST TAKE A MINUTE.

ORTH: I WILL LISTEN.

KIM: THAT'S ALL I WANT YOU TO DO. PLEASE.

MII AND BAHRAMANI BOTH TALK:

KIM: GENTLEMEN, I AM COMBINING THE TWO STATEMENTS TOGETHER. I CAN NOT TRANSLATE THEM SEPARATELY. FOR INSTANCE, MR. SAMII STARTED TO SAY WHAT THE FOUNDATION, THE BASE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP IS GOING TO BE. AND THAT IS THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF OUR INTERPRETATION OF WHAT WE MEAN BY A SUCCESSFUL, RESPECTFUL VICTORY IN THE WAR... AND I QUESTIONED THEM, "DOES THAT MEAN THAT THE ANSWER YOU HAVE RECEIVED SO FAR IS NOT FAIR?" AND ALI EXPLAINED IN DETAIL. HE SAID THAT TO BE VERY FRANK WITH YOU, WITHOUT PLAIN AND CLEAR INTERPRETATION OF THIS ISSUE WHICH IS THE FOUNDATION OF THIS RELATIONSHIP, THEY ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO HAVE ANY DISCUSSION WITH ANYONE. THEY WANT TO BE ABLE TO TAKE BACK THE MEANING OF "AN HONORABLE VICTORY," WHICH HAVE BEEN THE WORDS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE U. S. ((AND)) TO UNDERSTAND WHAT THAT MEANS. DOES THAT MEAN THAT SADDAM HUSAYN IS GOING TO BE OUT AND THIS IS CONSIDERED A SUCCESSFUL AND HONORABLE VICTORY?; OR IT MEANS THAT WITH HUSAYN OUT AND WITHOUT THEM TAKING ANY MILITARY ACTION, THAT IS A SUCCESSFUL VICTORY?; OR DOES IT INCLUDE SUCCESS FOR YOUR SIDE?; DOES THAT MEAN ALSO A MILITARY SUCCESS IN THIS? WHAT IS IT? WHAT IS YOUR INTERPRETATION?

BAHRAMANI:

KIM: ((INTERPRETING)) YOU DON'T HAVE TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION NOW. THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT, IF YOU NEED TO DISCUSS THIS WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN AGAIN AND GIVE A CLEAR RESPONSE TO THIS QUESTION.

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[REDACTED]
AVE: I'LL ADD A LITTLE BIT ON THIS. IN OTHER WORDS, WHAT BOTH ARE SAYING IS THAT TO THEM SADDAM HUSAYN HAS TO GO, BUT WHAT ARE THE

CONDITIONS

UNDER WHICH HE GOES. AND WHAT WOULD BE OUR REACTION, DO WE NOT WANT THEM TO TAKE ANYMORE TERRITORY OR IS IT ALRIGHT IF THEY TAKE SOME TERRITORY AND PUT MORE PRESSURE ON THE SITUATION? WHAT IS OUR VIEW OF WHAT THEY CAN DO WITH THIS?

ORTH: LET ME ANSWER IN GENERAL BECAUSE I DON'T HAVE A SPECIFIC ANSWER FOR YOU. AND I DON'T THINK YOU HAVE A SPECIFIC DEFINITION OF WHAT YOU WOULD CONSIDER VICTORY FOR ME AT THIS POINT. THIS IS WHY OUR RELATIONSHIP IS SO VERY, VERY IMPORTANT.

XIM INTERPRETS.

HARAMANI:

KIM: HE WANTS TO KNOW... THE BOTTOM LINE OF EVERY THING THAT THEY ARE TRYING TO SAY IS THIS THAT WE BOTH AGREE THAT THE FOUNDATION AND BASE OF AN HONORABLE VICTORY MEANS FOR SADDAM TO GO. WE HAVE SAID ENOUGH AND WE BOTH UNDERSTAND THAT. WHAT THEY NEED TO KNOW NOW IS WHAT SHOULD THEY DO FOR US TO TAKE THE NEXT STEP TOWARDS THAT AND HOW. YOU SHOULD COME UP AND SAY... FOR INSTANCE BANG ON THE TABLE AND SADDAM HUSAYN WILL GO OR WHATEVER. EXPLAIN TO US VERY CLEARLY THE METHOD THAT WE HAVE TO ACHIEVE THIS.

II:

IM: HE WANTS TO LEAVE THAT WITH YOU AS A VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE, BECAUSE YOUR ANSWER MAY VERY WELL AFFECT THEIR MOVES IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR OFFENSIVE AND THE KILLING OF THE PEOPLE.

TH: I UNDERSTAND. AND THAT'S WHY WE RAISED THAT ISSUE IN WASHINGTON, WHY THE PRESIDENT HAD ME RAISE IT. THE IDEA THAT THERE HAD TO BE AN HONORABLE PEACE FOR THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF IRAN.

M INTERPRETS.

TH: WE ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT SADDAM HUSAYN MUST GO.

M INTERPRETS.

H: I CAN NOT TELL YOU EXACTLY DAY BY DAY OR STEP BY STEP, AS I OUTLINE CERTAIN OTHER STEPS BETWEEN US, HOW THAT WOULD GO. YET THE GENERAL OUTLINE OF IT FOLLOWS THOSE STEPS THAT I GAVE LAST NIGHT.

M INTERPRETS.

I: WE MUST BE ABLE TO CARRY ON A HIGH-LEVEL DIRECT DIALOGUE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN IN SUCH A WAY THAT OUR PEOPLE ARE EVENTUALLY COMFORTABLE WITH IT AND THAT YOUR PEOPLE ARE EVENTUALLY COMFORTABLE WITH IT.

I INTERPRETS.

WE NEED TO START CHANGING THE PERCEPTION OF THE REST OF THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY THE ARAB WORLD, AS TO WHERE WE ARE.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 165
KIM INTERPRETS.

RTH: WE NEED TO BE ABLE TO ASSURE ARAB GOVERNMENTS THAT THEY ARE NOT THREATENED BY THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF IRAN.

KIM INTERPRETS.

RTH: HOW CAN WE DO THAT IF WE CAN'T EVEN TELL THEM WE ARE TALKING TO YOU?

KIM INTERPRETS.

RTH: WE DIDN'T EVEN HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SADDAM HUSAYN'S GOVERNMENT BEFORE THIS WAR BEGAN. WE DIDN'T HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, OUR GOVERNMENT AND THEIRS. BUT WE DO TODAY.

KIM INTERPRETS.

RTH: QUITE FRANKLY WE WOULD MUCH RATHER HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH YOUR COUNTRY. BUT WE ALL IN THIS ROOM RECOGNIZE WE ARE NOT GOING BE ABLE... NEITHER YOU NOR WE CAN DO THAT TOMORROW.

KIM INTERPRETS.

RTH: WE KNOW THAT WE CAN GO TO THE SAUDIS, THE KUWAITIS, THE OMANIS, THE EGYPTIANS, AND THE MOROCCANS AND TELL THEM THAT THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF IRAN IS NOT A THREAT TO THEM.

IM INTERPRETS.

TH: WE CAN DO THAT ONCE WE CAN ACKNOWLEDGE TO THEM THAT WE ARE HAVING A VERY PRIVATE AND SECRET DIALOGUE.

IM INTERPRETS.

TH: WE WANT TO BE ABLE TO TELL THEM THAT THE REAL THREAT TO THEIR STABILITY AND TO STABILITY IN THE WHOLE REGION, THE REAL THREAT IS THE SOVIET PUPPET IN BAGHDAD.

IM INTERPRETS.

TH: SADDAM HUSAYN CAN NOT EXIST IN POWER WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

IM INTERPRETS.

E: ((IN PERSIAN)) AND WE KNOW WHO IT IS IN SAUDI ARABIA, FOR EXAMPLE, WHO SUPPORTS SADDAM.

IM: ((TRANSLATES CAVE'S STATEMENT FOR NORTH.))

TH: BUT WE CAN NOT GO AND DO THAT UNTIL WE REMOVE THE OBSTACLE THAT EXISTS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

IM INTERPRETS.

TH: AND THAT'S WHY THE STEPS I PROPOSED TO YOU LAST NIGHT WERE DESIGNED TO REMOVE THOSE OBSTACLES AND GET ON VERY, VERY QUICKLY IN A PROCESS THAT WOULD LEAD TO THE OUTCOME THAT YOU WANT AND WE WANT.

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HAKIM INTERPRETS.

SAMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING)) DO I UNDERSTAND YOU CORRECTLY THAT WHEN YOU REFER TO THOSE OBSTACLES YOU ARE SPECIFICALLY REFERRING TO THE ISSUE OF THE HOSTAGES?

NORTH: YEAH. YES. IT'S A POLITICAL ?AREA?.

AVE: LET ME EXPLAIN. ((IN PERSIAN)) THE POLITICS IN AMERICA ARE VERY ((WORD MISSED)) FOR THE PRESIDENT....

NORTH: USE MY ANALOGY OF THE FIRE-PROOF COAT FOR THE PRESIDENT.

HAKIM: ((IN PERSIAN)) THE OBSTACLES. THEIR MAIN OBJECTIVE IS ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH IRAN. THAT IS THE BOTTOM LINE. IF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN, THE PRESIDENT WON'T BE AFRAID TO SAY THAT HE WANTS TO SUPPORT IRAN. IF THE PRESIDENT BECOMES WEAK THE AMERICAN CAN NOT SUPPORT HIM. IT IS TO OUR BENEFIT THAT THE PRESIDENT MAINTAINS HIS POLITICAL CREDIBILITY. FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE PRESIDENT'S POLITICAL CREDIBILITY YOU MUST ALSO DO SOMETHING IN THIS REGARD SO OUR ENEMIES WILL NOT RUIN IT AND BY ((FEW WORDS MISSED)). AND THERE WON'T BE ANYONE IN THE U.S. WHO WILL SUPPORT IRAN'S REVOLUTION. YOU CAN BE SURE OF THAT. THEY EMPHASIZED ON THIS YESTERDAY, THEY SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS TO HAVE A FIRE-PROOF COAT. IT'S A POLITICAL OBSTACLE.

SAMII: ((INAUDIBLE))

HAKIM: ((IN PERSIAN)) BEFOREHAND, MR. KANGARLU ARRIVED AND BROUGHT THE NEGOTIATIONS ONLY TO THE LEVEL OF HOSTAGES. THE LIVES OF THE HOSTAGES WAS A SPECIAL MATTER. AT THE LEVEL WE ARE WORKING AT A THOUSAND PEOPLE..

CORD: IT'S A VERY SIMPLE THING. IT SHOULD NOT BE MADE COMPLEX. IT'S VERY SIMPLE. THEY EITHER UNDERSTAND IT OR THEY DON'T.

KIM: THEY SAID THEY UNDERSTAND IT.

CORD: OKAY.

AVE: THE ONLY REASON THEY ASK THIS QUESTION AGAIN IS BECAUSE THEY WANT TO BE ABLE TO SPECIFICALLY RECOGNIZE...

RTH: I WANT... THAT'S IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT IS THE ESSENCE OF WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT. THIS ISSUE IS SO MUCH ((BURST OF LAUGHTER BY IRANIANS, WHO WERE TALKING IN THE BACKGROUND. FEW WORDS MISSED.)) THE HOSTAGES. SEE, THIS IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TWO GREAT COUNTRIES WE'RE TALKING ABOUT HERE. IN THIS LITTLE ROOM THESE SIX MEN HAVE GATHERED AND ARE MAKING DECISIONS ABOUT THE FATE OF TWO GREAT NATIONS.

IM INTERPRETS.

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TH: MY PRESIDENT TRULY WANTS TO HELP MOSLEMS, AND CHRISTIANS, AND YES, JEWS TO GET ALONG WITH ONE ANOTHER AND HE'S GOT TWO YEARS LEFT TO DO IT.

IM INTERPRETS.

[REDACTED]

NORTH: AND WE THOUGHT THAT FOR THE LAST YEAR AND A HALF THAT WE WERE, STUMBLING AS WE WERE, HEADING IN THAT DIRECTION. WHEN THIS WHOLE DIALOGUE BEGAN, WITH KANGARLU, WE, AT THE VERY FIRST MEETING OVER A YEAR AGO SAID IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL THAT TERRORISM STOP SO THAT WE CAN HELP PROTECT OUR PRESIDENT AGAINST THE NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF THIS.

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

NORTH: WE INSIDE OUR GOVERNMENT HAD AN ENORMOUS DEBATE, A VERY ANGRY DEBATE INSIDE OUR GOVERNMENT OVER WHETHER OR NOT MY PRESIDENT WOULD AUTHORIZE ME TO SAY, "WE ACCEPT THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION OF IRAN AS A FACT...."

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

NORTH: HE WENT OFF ONE WHOLE WEEKEND AND PRAYED ABOUT WHAT THE ANSWER SHOULD BE. AND HE CAME BACK ALMOST A YEAR AGO WITH THAT PASSAGE I GAVE YOU THAT HE WROTE IN FRONT OF THE BIBLE I GAVE YOU.

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

NORTH: AND HE SAID TO ME, "THIS IS A PROMISE THAT GOD MADE TO ABRAHAM. WHO AM I TO SAY THAT WE SHOULD NOT DO THIS?"

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

NORTH: AND THAT IS WHY WHEN THE TWO MORE HOSTAGES WERE SEIZED IN BEIRUT, I WENT IN TO SEE A PRESIDENT WHO WAS IN DEEP DESPAIR. AND THE ONLY REASON I AM HERE TODAY IS BECAUSE HE FIRST OF ALL WAS CONVINCED THAT THERE ARE MANY EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED THAT ARE BEYOND YOUR CONTROL. AND SECOND HE KNOWS WHAT THE INTENTIONS OF THE SOVIETS ARE REGARDING THE INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF IRAN.

HAKIM INTERPRETS.

HAKIM: HE WANTS TO GET ON WITH THE POINTS.

AMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING)) BEFORE GETTING INTO THE SIX POINTS THAT THEY ARE GOING TO PRESENT HE WANTS YOU TO CLEARLY UNDERSTAND THAT THESE POINTS DO NOT REPRESENT THE FACT THAT WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO CHANGE THEM OR BE FLEXIBLE. HE WANTS YOU TO KNOW THAT IT IS NOT AN UNCHANGEABLE SITUATION, THE SAME WAY THAT THEY RECOGNIZE THE POINTS THAT YOU HAVE RAISED ARE NOT YOUR UNCHANGEABLE POSITION.

AMII:

HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING)) HE WANTS TO RECOMMEND THAT WE BOTH TAKE THE ISSUES THAT WE BOTH HAVE HEARD BACK TO OUR GOVERNMENTS AND COME UP WITH A FAIR LIST THAT WILL FULFILL THE REQUIREMENTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES. AND THAT SHOULD BE THE SPINE OF OUR WORK.

MII:

HAKIM: I GUARANTEE YOU THAT I WILL DO MY BEST AND I EXPECT YOU TO DO YOUR BEST.

MII:

[REDACTED]

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HAKIM: ((INTERPRETING)) THEY WANT A TIMETABLE, NOT THE EQUIPMENT, BUT A TIMETABLE FOR THE TRANSFER... THEY ARE SETTING ASIDE... I'M COMING BACK TO WHERE YOU WERE ALMOST GETTING READY TO GO THROUGH THE ROOF. THEY ARE GOING TO REACH AN AGREEMENT FOR THE 500 TOWS, I WILL STAY HERE, AND EVERYTHING THAT GOES WITH THE 500 TOWS.

ORTH: ((INAUDIBLE))

HAKIM: ((INAUDIBLE)) FOR THE 500. OKAY? THAT'S GOING TO BE SET BEHIND US WHILE WE ARE STILL HERE.

ORTH: ALRIGHT. WAIT A SECOND NOW. I MEAN...

HAKIM: WE WILL SAY WHAT IS GOING TO BE. JUST BE PATIENT. WOULD YOU LEARN WHAT TO DO WHAT THE IRANIANS...

ORTH: I'VE GOT AN AIRPLANE...

HAKIM: FOR ONCE BE AN IRANIAN. PLEASE. WE LEAVE THE VERY LAST IMPORTANT THING....

ORTH: PLEASE CARRY ON

HAKIM: LET'S PUT THIS (EXPLETIVE) OUT AND GET TO THE CORE OF IT. THE CORE IS...

ORTH: TIMETABLE FOR THE TRANSFER OF?

HAKIM: OF THE LIST THAT WERE GIVEN TO ALI, THE 108 UNITS OF 155'S, AND ALL THAT (STUFF). AND THEY DO NOT ACCEPT THE... AND THEY ARE PUTTING THE SPARE PARTS FOR THE HAWK MISSILES IN THAT LIST. AND THEY DO NOT ACCEPT YOUR SUGGESTION THAT YOU ARE GOING TO FIND WHAT OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE THE VARIOUS ITEMS AND DIRECT THEM. THEY WANT TO BE DEALING DIRECTLY WITH YOU OR THE GROUPS THAT YOU WOULD PUT TOGETHER. THEY DON'T WANT KANGARLU IN IT. THEY DON'T WANT GHORBANIFAR IN IT. THEY WANT TO GO ABOUT THAT. THEY DON'T WANT EQUIPMENT. THEY WANT A TIME SCHEDULE. ALI ADDED TO THAT THIS IS SOMETHING THAT SECORD SHOULD LOOK INTO THEN APPROVE.

ORTH: IS IT UNDERSTOOD THAT WE DO NOT HAVE SOME OF THOSE ITEMS?

HAKIM: THEY UNDERSTAND THAT. ((FEW WORDS MISSED.)) WE DON'T WANT TO USE OUR ?STRUCTURE?. YESTERDAY YOU SAID KANGARLU AND GHORBANIFAR AND OTHERS. AS AN EXAMPLE.

ORTH: I DON'T CARE WHO IT IS. WHOEVER THEY WANT.

HAKIM: HE SAID: "I DON'T WANT ANY OTHER COUNTRY. JUST US."

ORD: WHAT DOES HE WANT FROM US? A PIECE OF PAPER THAT OUTLINES HOW WE THINK WE COULD GET THERE FROM HERE?

IM: YES.

ORD: IS THAT IN YOUR COMPUTER?

TH: WELL, YEAH. I MEAN I HAVE TO GO AND SIT DOWN AND GO THROUGH A LISTING FROM CIA AS TO WHO HAS GOT 108 MM ((WORD MISSED.))
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[REDACTED]

CIA AS TO WHO HAS GOT 108 MM.

KIM: I HAVE RESOLVED THIS. LET'S GET TO THE POINT. THIS MAN HAS TO GO. THIS IS SOMETHING THAT WE CAN DO

MII:

KIM: ((INTERPRETING)) POINT NUMBER TWO. IRAN WILL INFLUENCE THE RELEASE OF ONE OF THE HOSTAGES.

MII:

KIM: ((INTERPRETING)) TWO. THE RELEASE OF THAT ONE HOSTAGE THAT HAS BEEN ((INAUDIBLE)).

RTH: WHAT ONE HOSTAGE?

KIM: NUMBER TWO I SAID ONE HOSTAGE WOULD BE RELEASED. YOU GOT THAT.

RTH: OKAY.

KIM: I ASKED HIM WHEN. AND HE SAID AFTER THE EXECUTION OF ITEM ONE. FOR INSTANCE WE SAID IT'S GOING TO BE TWO OR THREE WEEKS. AND I TOLD HIM THAT THIS THE WRONG APPROACH. SO HE KNOWS THAT.

MII:

KIM: ((INTERPRETING)) CORRECTION IN ITEM NUMBER TWO. ITEM TWO, RELEASE OF THE ONE HOSTAGE, WILL BE EFFECTED AFTER SUBMISSION OF THE TIMETABLE WE TALKED IN ITEM NUMBER ONE AND ALSO SHIPMENT OF THE HAWK SPARE PARTS, WHICH THEY WILL HAVE ALREADY ESTABLISHED THE CREDIT FOR IT. IS TWO CLEAR? THEN WE'LL MOVE TO THREE.

RTH: WAIT A MINUTE. I WANT TO MAKE DAMN SURE I GOT THIS DOWN RIGHT. STEP NUMBER ONE- PROVIDE A TIMETABLE AND PLAN FOR OBTAINING THE ITEMS ON THE LIST AND THEY WANT TO DO THAT THROUGH US AND NOT THROUGH OTHERS. STEP NUMBER TWO- RELEASE OF ONE HOSTAGE AFTER WE PROVIDE THAT TIMETABLE AND THE PLAN AND WE SHIP THE HAWK SPARE PARTS.

AKIM: FOR WHICH THEY WILL PROVIDE THE CREDIT IN ADVANCE.

MII:

AKIM: ITEM THREE. THE TWO PARTIES WILL ESTABLISH A WELL DEFINED TIMETABLE AND PLAN FOR EXCHANGE OF INTELLIGENCE AND INFORMATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A LOCATION FOR THESE TO TAKE PLACE. THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION. AND THEN THEY WILL EVALUATE THE SITUATION OF RUSSIA, IRAQ, AFGHANISTAN ((END OF TAPE))

((END TAPE 15, SIDE 3))

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[REDACTED]